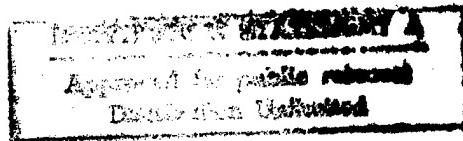


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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2018

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2 June 1982

**EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

No. 2018

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GYORI DEFENDS PROPAGANDA, ECONOMIC REFORMS, SMALL BUSINESS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Apr 82 p 5

[Interview with Imre Gyori, head of the Central Committee's department of canvassing and propaganda, by Istvan Koncz: "Propagation of Our Socialist Principles"]

[Text] The 112th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin will be celebrated in a few days not only in the socialist countries but by people of progressive ideology all over the world. This birthday reminds us of the one who consistently carried on the life work of Marx, renewed and in practice implemented the revolutionary principles, of the leader of the first victorious socialist revolution, the farsighted politician, the passionate canvasser and propagandist. At the same time it urges us to examine ourselves: what does the present generation of communists in our country do to spread our socialist principles, how well do they represent the party's policies, how do they use the means of persuasion?

We asked Imre Gyori, director of the Central Committee's department of canvassing and propaganda, for answers to these and similar questions.

[Question] With two years of experience, how do you feel propaganda work contributes to implementing the resolutions of the 12th party congress?

[Answer] The party propaganda's fundamental task, which is valid over the long range, is to create the appropriate conscious conditions for constructive social and economic work in the ranks of the party membership as well as in the broad masses of those outside the party. In harmony with the resolutions of the 12th party congress--which have set the goals of protecting and furthering our historical achievements, preserving the standard of living, solidifying the national economy's equilibrium, establishing the foundations for further growth, and strengthening the socialist characteristics of our society,--canvassing and propaganda work has also become more modern in the last 2 years. It has contributed and is contributing under the changed circumstances to help understand the deeper relationships between the

international situation and our domestic political life, to see clearly, to be receptive to the new problems, to develop the creative energies hidden in man, and to be ready to take action.

[Question] It happens at times nowadays that some people here or there belittle the significance of political work.

[Answer] Not only nowadays. There have always been some people who, when things were going well for them, have said that the facts "speak for themselves," anyway. And when their problems increased, they argued and argue that only financial conditions are needed for the solution. Both are false and onesidedly practicalistic reasonings. The very essence of our revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist ideology is that that it not only explains the world but also helps change it. Change it, which in this country at this time means to create an advanced socialist society on the existing solid socialist foundations. The key--familiarity with the laws of social change--is in our hands, "all" we need to know is how to apply it in the constantly changing world. This requires repeatedly illuminating the basic theoretical questions in the light of the changing specific circumstances, as well as providing creative answers to the new problems with which life presents us. If we do the political work well, then this very great stabilizing force will significantly contribute to balancing our society and our domestic political life. If we do it poorly, then on the other hand it might even conserve the things that can and must be changed. So, in a word it is beautiful, noble, very responsible and not easy work.

[Question] Especially in the present, tense and extremely international situation...

[Answer] At party meetings and other places the foreign policy reports are often begun this way in our country. But in spite of all the complications of the present situation, it is still valid that the socialist world is a definitive factor in the development of events, and that war is not necessarily unavoidable. This is so even if the extremist circles of imperialism resist it. One of the main tasks of propaganda work is to prove this and to form a correct ideology faithful to reality from the avalanche of information engulfing us.

[Question] Does the avalanche of information you mentioned perhaps also cause problems?

[Answer] The abundance of information is a good and necessary thing, but one has to be able to find his way in it. Our people are well informed today. Credit for this belongs not only to our party's open and honest practice of disseminating information, and not only to the tools of mass media, but also to such mass organizations and movements as the people's front, the trade unions, the KISZ [Communist Youth League] or the TIT [Society for the Propagation of Scientific Knowledge]. The country's population has opened the door on the world, and its level of informedness and political sophistication are higher than ever before in our history. This is so natural in our country now that if at times some errors, failures, mistakes or delays

slip into the information mechanism, many people immediately complain about it heatedly. But we still cannot always handle the synthesizing work of uncovering and illuminating the interrelationships.

[Question] At times we receive criticism that we "manipulate" the public opinion by commenting on the news and explaining objectively delivered facts.

[Answer] This is a false accusation. We do not deny and do not hide our socialist obligations and the fact that we want to influence public opinion or that we want to convince the people. We do this with scientific reasoning, with the strength of our socialist principles, by throwing light on society's objective laws of change, by showing reality as it really is, and by convincingly representing our policies. In contrast with this, manipulation is deceptive influencing in bad faith, which on the one hand attempts to make it impossible to find one's way in the avalanche of information, and on the other hand parades in the disguise of false objectivity; it keeps it a secret that it avoids the essential interrelationships by serving bourgeois interests, distorts the facts, or in one word misleads, deceives.

Just one example for this. With huge financial, technological and psychological energy expenditures the capitalist news agencies are broadcasting and [hypnotically] suggesting that false thesis to the world, as if the two "superpowers" alike were conducting the arms race for some kind of expansionistic domination purposes. This interpretation contradicts the facts. In the leading capitalist countries, first of all in the USA the enterprises and institutions which belong to the military-war industrial complex are deriving huge profits from armaments, while it is just a huge burden on the shoulders of the Soviet people.

Peace is necessary as the most elementary precondition for social progress, such as building an advanced socialism in this country. This is the basis of the consistent Soviet peace policy, and of the Soviet Union's endless patience and readiness to negotiate. There is hardly any doubt as to who and what really endangers peace, and as to how much manipulative misleading there is in such imperialist "proposals" as, for example, the so-called "zero-based solution" by Reagan.

[Question] But our public opinion is occupied not only by the fate-determining questions of war and peace but also, for example, by the difficulties which must be faced in a number of socialist countries.

[Answer] The problems of the socialist countries cannot be separated from the fact that the world economic conditions have changed. All countries have to adjust to this. The socialist countries, too, are bearing the negative consequences of this. Moreover, almost all European socialist countries have reached a level of development where the changeover from extensive economic growth to intensive economic operation is unavoidable under the very same world economic circumstances. Our problems are the problems of stepping up to a higher level, of "advancing into a higher grade." Thus they cannot be reduced to the same common denominator with the present crisis of capitalism which is deeper and more severe than at any time since World War II.

Of course, in addition to these objective reasons the subjective errors, wrong judgements, inflexibility or the lack of organization also contribute to the above mentioned difficulties--to varying extents at different locations and at different points of time.

Seeing the problems, our propaganda is a bit timid in proving the superiority of the socialist order. Even though in this country and in most of the fraternal countries the socialist order has achieved historically significant achievements, in spite of the fact that it has not had enough time, chance and opportunity to let all of its advantages fully develop. We must deal more with the internal life of the socialist countries, with their growth, and also with the difficulties resulting from objective and subjective reasons; and with the methods each country tries out to solve the new tasks of building socialism, in accordance with its own specific circumstances and traditions.

[Question] And how does the bourgeois propaganda speak about our country?

[Answer] Not with a unified voice. There are some objective evaluations which acknowledge our indisputable achievements. But there are also the ones which falsify reality. Most frequently they make things look as if we had achieved our results at the cost of giving up the socialist principles.

[Question] For example, earlier in connection with the household plots, and now with the small enterprises.

[Answer] Yes, even though it is clear to everyone today that the household plot is an organic part of the socialist agriculture. Its existence and success are unimaginable without the common large farming operations because that is its basis; and at the same time it itself strengthens the financial wellbeing of the producer cooperatives and their membership. It contributes to the smooth supplies of the country and also to exports with indispensable production of goods. It does not weaken but strengthens the communal and socialist attitude of our cooperative peasantry. Thus the western propaganda is distorting in its judgement. It is true that a few years ago a part of our domestic public opinion also watched with concern the development of the household plots. Resolving the old and poor attitudes can also be credited to our propaganda work.

The situation nowadays is similar with the economic formations called small enterprises as a collective concept. What is involved here is not, as some people worriedly define it, that this is the "Trojan horse of private enterprise", in which we have secretly returned the capitalist tendencies. We want to strengthen the socialist national economy with these also. They can perform those production and service tasks which are not profitable for the large socialist operations; they can satisfy needs we have so far not been able to satisfy, and by doing so they also improve the general mood of the population.

[Question] But can't they have undesirable side effects?

[Answer] They can, and they probably will, too; we never claimed to be able to see into the future and to see it in every detail. But if we obey the laws and regulations, if social control and awareness formation based on real interests are functioning efficiently, then these phenomena can be limited and repressed.

[Question] Our economic policy is often labeled liberal, with claims of finding capitalist characteristics in it.

[Answer] This is not correct either. Enterprise independence, ability to take the initiative, acceptance of reasonable risks and simply the enterprising spirit, flexible adjustment to the world market conditions, organization and discipline, profitable and efficient work--why would all these be characteristics of capitalism? First of all: socialism is humanity's largest undertaking in history. This cannot be carried to success without the creative initiative ability of people and groups. And on the other hand socialism is built in the different countries under different circumstances and conditions, and on the base of different traditions; we must therefore consider it natural that the various specific solutions are also unique and different. The richness of the solutions enriches the forces of socialism and will probably develop in greater and greater variety. It is true that we are only now learning about truly efficient economic operation, and year by year we are solving more and more difficult assignments at the cost of tremendous efforts, even in spite of our economy's many shortcomings inherited from the past, and of all the burdens deriving from this.

[Question] Most people appreciate that even in these years we endeavor to preserve our present economic and standard-of-living standards, but they do not always consider it a success.

[Answer] Even though many richer and economically better developed capitalist countries are unable to do this. It is true that in recent years we have gotten used to the spectacular percentages in the growth of our national income and production, while now the indicators show low values for reasons well known. Under such circumstances the rate in the rise of the standard of living to which we got used to in the previous time period, cannot be assured. Our main effort that the systematic rise in the standard of living accompany the progress we make in building socialism, can now be realized only under very strict conditions and based only on better and more successful economic operation, with the differences depending on work. We are also forced to concentrate our social policy on a few of the most important goals--to support those living on low retirement pay and those with big families--, and in a series of other issues there can be no thought of as large improvements as before.

[Question] To what does our public opinion react most sensitively?

[Answer] Naturally to the price increases. One of the most serious tasks of our economic policy, canvassing and propaganda work is to make people understand and clearly see that the increase of prices which approximate the world market prices, which express realistic value relationships, and which encourage

economical production and rational consumption, are important conditions of our economic stability and growth. The acceptance of price increases thus far has shown that the people understand that they are unavoidable, but canvassing and propaganda must also help in this.

[Question] Many people fear for the achievements of our socialist democracy because of the tense international situation and because of our economic problems.

[Answer] Any retreat or freeze would be harmful in just such a situation as this; in this very situation the initiatives of people, communal awareness of the responsibilities, the effectiveness of social control, and growth of the socialist democracy are needed even more. But this does not represent a license for any type antisocial behavior. The majority of the people actively support our policies, see the opportunity for personal prosperity in socialism, appreciate our achievements and is ready to defend them, can differentiate between incentive financial interest and antisocial, egotistic manifestations, and wants order, decency and discipline in every area of social life.

[Question] Do the party's educational programs attract people, and do these generate and satisfy the inquiries? Does for example the mass proliferation of television represent any "competition?"

[Answer] Quite to the contrary. Our experience shows that the press, radio and television only escalate the interests. This is understandable: what people see on the picture tube, and what they hear or read, they want to dig down and learn more about it, and preferably in a form which requires personal intellectual efforts and activity, debating and exchanging opinions. The facts prove that the Marxist-Leninist theory is highly ranked and attractive. Even though for years we have not been trying to increase the numbers, large masses are constantly participating in political training and education.

But our propaganda work must keep up even more closely with the increasing requirements. For example, we must more quickly interpret the answers generated by the social sciences for the newer and newer questions life poses. We must also give more consideration to the openness of our country. Regular political self-education and self-study should become natural and self-generated, for as large a part of our party membership as possible.

[Question] In closing: How do you judge the work of propagandists?

[Answer] They perform a difficult but beautiful party assignment with great willingness to make sacrifices, and most of them to high standards. Seventy percent of them have college or high school degrees, and the appropriate political training. Their perceptiveness towards life's realistic issues, their interest in the changes of reality, being informed, and taking clear and independent positions in theoretical and practical questions are important sources of the success of their work. Several generations are working side by side in this area. The older ones can very profitably invest their knowledge and experience, and the fact that several decades of the history of our present era are personal experiences for them. On the other hand

the younger ones [can very profitably invest] their usually more modern education, their sensitivity to today's problems, and the fact that they are more receptive towards our youth's intellectual frame of reference. Being a propagandist in the broadest sense of the word, that is, to spread our socialist principles convincingly, is not some kind of stand-by job but an honorable obligation of every communist.

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NEW SAMIZDAT PUBLICATIONS INTRODUCED

Paris IRODALMI UJSAG in Hungarian No 1, 1982 p 4

[Article: "New Samizdat Publication in Hungary: The 'BESZELÓ'"]

[Text] In October 1981, a new independent (samizdat) publication appeared in Hungary: a 117 page periodical, entitled the "BESZELÓ" (Mouthpiece). "Our paper--point out the editors in their opening announcement--is published outside the official organization of the media. Consequently, we do not have an easy-to-operate apparatus at our disposal to facilitate its circulation. The "BESZELÓ" reaches its readers via circles of friends and by way of professional and ideological collectives." The motives behind, and the goals of this brave undertaking was summed up as follows in the introduction by the editors:

A Preface to Our Paper

They say, there is nothing happening in Hungary. People are happy that they are not bothered with politics; in their spare time they are building family houses, they are raising poultry and are doing amateur work on the side. The intelligentsia has locked itself into the garden of culture, and it is also leaving politics to the politicians. The churches are cooperating with the state. The old-fashioned reactionaries and bourgeois democrats have died out, and the revisionists of the communist movement have never recovered from their 1956 defeat. The regime does show its iron fist from time to time, but after seeing that nobody is getting out of line quickly returns it to its pocket. It does not go beyond occasionally cracking down on a rough-neck or a drunkard for disorderly conduct, and when it does, it is cheered on by spectators to strike even harder. Only a handful of opponents have been trying to break the social peace--with little success. This is how it is perceived not only by the leaders of the country, who like to interpret political apathy as active support for their policies, but also by their opponents who cannot seem to repeat it enough that silence is not the same as approval.

Yet, everybody knows--either from personal experience, or from heresay--of exceptions. It is true, that in the last 10 to 15 years there have not been any enterprise-level strikes in Hungary. However, there have been strikes in the smaller villages, at the workshop and industrial unit level. It is

true, that for the most part the press has been kept in line due to self-censorship on the part of the editors and the authors. However, there have been occasions when a periodical released some unpublishable manuscripts, and stood up strongly in defense of its publication policy. It is true, that the churches are led by intimidated people, some of whom have been blackmailed, others bribed. But even the collaboration between the secular authorities and our church leaders has not been able to prevent the establishment of independent religious movements within, and among the churches. It is true, that the results of every election are prearranged behind the scenes, and that all the voters have to do is raise their hands to indicate their approval. But there have also been examples when the membership of a cooperative, a KISZ--party--or trade-union basic organization have rebelled and defeated the official candidates. Then, there are those countless self-sacrificing young people who have been regularly travelling to Romania and Slovakia to gather news about the fate of Hungarians living beyond our borders, and to help them as much as they can--defying the authorities' not always passive disapproval. Or the lonely truth-seekers, who refuse to accept that the regime is stronger....

And still, when we think about our country's general state of affairs, these examples never come to mind. Many of them are stories of local interest, news of which do not spread far by word of mouth. And they are being consistently left out of the reports of the mass media. Thus the average person never sees more than only a very few of the frames that differ from the basic grey color of the mosaics. Not enough to have a clear picture before his eyes. Consequently, even the things that are spread by word of mouth remain undefinable and inexplicable rumors for them.

"In Csepel, a casket was carried around with the sign on it saying: 'Profit Sharing.' Also there, someone put a piece of bread spread with drippings in the hands of the Lenin statue which stands in front of the trust's entrance." (Who? How many of them were there? How long did the demonstration last? Did the police come to the scene? Who knows. Some say, nothing happened. Others say that the whole thing was a carnival prank by the union.) "At the University of Economics they established the FISZ." (Those close to the source know that this abbreviation stands for Independent Youth league. Those best informed, however, also know that it was formed at the Technical University.) "They were circulating leaflets in Miskolc." (From what we hear, they were cheering the Polish workers. But some say that they were being distributed by the Polish guest-workers working in Miskolc themselves. Somebody, however, heard from a witness, that they brought these leaflets from home and used them to wrap things sold on the black market. It is obvious: back there they have even run out of wrapping paper.)

Usually, even the story-teller is uncertain whether or not what he is saying is true. But it is not proper to embarrass them by asking a lot of skeptical questions. And most importantly: it is not worth it. The only thing these kinds of rumors are good for, is that while they are being exchanged people can share their unrealizable wishes and their insoluble anxieties; no-one thinks of adjusting his practical behavior to them. The same person who in the morning seems to have all the information about the mass-demonstration

in Csepel may, in the evening, claim without even blinking an eye that what happened in Poland in the summer of 1980, could never happen here.

One must wonder, how many people perceive the perplexed maze of information which they collect in their heads from heresay, from the half-truths and half-lies put out by the means of mass communication--and, of course, from the incomplete announcements of the Western radio stations. If it were possible to conduct an independent opinion poll, in principle, this could be more or less accurately found out. It would, however, be impossible even in principle to find out how people would perceive the facts on the bottom of this maze of confusion if they knew them. Because they do not know them.

But why should we not try to gather these facts and make them available? For now, only to as many people as can be reached with this kind of a simply produced, mimeographed publication.

The "BESZELÓ" will talk about irregular events: i.e., about cases where an individual or several people together commit a transgression against the traditional rules of communication between the regime and its subjects; resist a humiliating order; stand up for their rights, or put pressure on their superiors.... We would like to look into what makes them abandon their routine behavior. To find out what means the higher authorities are using to put the machinery back on its normal track. How the conflict is taking place between the two sides. And how outsiders react to series of unusual events.... We would like to ensure that these experiences do not get lost, and that people who have been participants or may in the future participate in such stories find out more about one another.

Naturally, we are also going to report on cases which in Hungary are referred to as actions of dissent: some people choose the broad forum of society to renounce the routine of obedience and to demonstrate to as many people as possible that there are opportunities for independent action. But our goal is not to come up with a kind of Dissenters' Herald. What we would like to do to the best of our abilities, is to help the quietly rumbling mass of people below the two loudly quarreling tiny minorities--the opposition and the country's leadership--form a truer picture of themselves.

The editorial office of the BESZELÓ has no telex-machines, nor can the paper send correspondents with press-cards to the scene. It will only have things to discuss if its readers rush to its assistance. We ask everyone who thinks may have a worthwhile news story to report to find us. Every case is of interest to us, in which a person or several people have acted because they had a right to, and not because they had their superiors approval. We gladly accept finished reports as well as verbal messages. The articles may be published--as it is customary in the press--either under the author's name, under a fictitious name or without name.

Our editorial office can be contacted at the following addresses:

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The appearance of the first issue of the "BESZEL0" coincided with the 25th anniversary of the 1956 revolution. On this occasion, the paper published a less-known document: "The Development Proposal of the Hungarian Democratic Independence Front." This political program was formulated after the November Soviet invasion, and offered a compromise proposal suggesting ways of preserving and institutionalizing the accomplishments of the revolution, without endangering the main factors of the post-1945 socialist transformation--i.e., the distribution of land, nationalization--and without affecting the foreign policy interests of the Soviet Union. One of the drafters of this document was Istvan Bibo. The paper's other article of historical concern deals with a timely problem that has been perturbing Hungarian public opinion: "The Chronological History of the Hungarian Minority in Czechoslovakia." This chronology sums up the post-war history of the more than half a million Hungarians living in Czechoslovakia in two parts; the first part featured in this issue outlines the era which lasted from 1944 to 1964--the period of total outlawry and of the "Stalinist consolidation."

Future articles of the "BESZEL0" will deal with timely Hungarian cases and Eastern European questions. In the spring of 1981, a wave of uneasiness rippled through Budapest's universities. The students--hardly 50 percent of whom are members of the official youth organization, the KISZ--do not have an effective corporate organization, nor do they have a real right to make their voices heard in university affairs. In some Budapest universities, however, the demand to expand student rights has already been heard. The report, entitled "Wavering Rebels" examines how official manipulation has been used to break the determination of student groups inexperienced in discussing politics, who have been disaccustomed from clearly expressing and asserting their own interests.

It was the "BESZEL0" which first made public the activities of Hungarian Catholics who "think differently." "Jesus Christ had promised that the gates of hell would not vanquish his Church, but he had not promised that the Hungarian Church would also remain intact; this depends on us"--points out the programmatic article, entitled "To Hungarian Catholics Who Think Differently," which criticizes the relationship between the official leaders of the Church and the state, calling upon the faithful and the Church to take a stand on earthly social issues, to accept responsibility and to work--to stand up against anti-God and anti-human value-destruction and to perform "responsible service"--and to do so because it is also in the interest of the Church. Its critical arguments are confirmed by a conversation between correspondents of the "BESZEL0" and a Catholic priest about the situation and the leadership of the Church today.

The new periodical has also reported a case which is unusual even for those who regularly and critically deal with conditions in Hungary: the use of various means of "political psychiatry" against Karoly Jakab, an already retired certified agriculturalist, and a former activist and official of the National Peasant Party and later of the 1956 Petofi Party. After 1949, Jakab was tried and--last time in 1975--sentenced for his opinions on several occasions. In all these cases, psychiatric examinations found Jakab to be perfectly healthy and responsible for his actions. He was indicted once again by the Retsag district attorney's office in 1979, because of some letters he had sent to the council, on the charge of "insulting the authorities," but during the course of the proceedings--once again on the initiative of the prosecution--he was declared insane and incapable of managing his own affairs, and was subsequently sentenced to be given forced medical treatment. The motive behind the prosecution's action was presumably to reduce the annual number of subversion cases (presently about 250 cases per year) published in the official statistics. Following the verdict, Jakab was "treated" once for 3 weeks and once for 2 months in the neurological ward of the Balassagyarmat hospital: among other things, with electroshock. Jakab, who according to psychiatric opinions--as the author of the article, Miklos Haraszti put it--"was suffering from an over-inflated sense of justice," tried in vain to have his case reviewed before official forums, and finally he turned to the "second public" himself. The essay presenting the Jakab case shows how various popular definitions of certain mental illnesses have made it possible, both in the East and in the West, to give psychiatric "explanations" for political nonconformism, and points out that in such cases only the public can provide protection.

The "BESZELO" also talks about a partial strike which occurred at a Kispest construction site; about some minor and more significant manifestations of sympathy toward the Polish social movements--for example, Gabor Demszky's article on SZETA's summer action, which made it possible for some needy Polish children to vacation in Hungary for 2 weeks--, as well as about the irritated and at times outright violent reactions of the authorities upon encountering solidarity with the Polish renewal. The paper's article on Poland talks about the alternatives and chances of continuing the democratization of that society and of further expanding the reforms: it is the text of a Warsaw round-table discussion which the prominent leaders of the Polish opposition had held well before the December military coup, in the editorial office of the independent Warsaw paper "ROBOTNIK."

In conclusion, the "BESZELO" sums up the main outward forms which the "second public" has taken in Hungary. Historian, Miklos Szabo devotes a separate article to reviewing the significance of the recently published Bibo Memorial Volume, pointing out that Istvan Bibo represents the only living heritage of "different thinking" for all branches of Hungarian democratic political thought. There are short articles describing the forums through which the voice of this "second public" can be heard: the Paris-based MAGYAR FUZETEK, which has already published the works of almost 50 authors living in Hungary, and the typed publications circulating in Budapest under the titles, "MAGYAR FIGYELO" and "SZFERA." The paper also presents the catalogue of the Budapest "samizdat-boutique," which contains almost 100 titles; the previous and forthcoming programs of the "Hetfoi Szabadegyetem," operating in private homes, and it reviews SZETA's cultural programs from last year as well as its plans for next year.

WRITER'S SUPPRESSED SPEECH PUBLISHED AS SAMIZDAT

Munich NEMZETOR in Hungarian 15 Feb 82 p 7

[Speech by Sandor Lezsak: "Does the End Justify the Means?"]

[Text] The following are the author's courageous remarks directed toward a discussion conducted in ELET ES IRODALOM about contemporary Hungarian literature. They were not published. The remarks were delivered at a meeting of the Attila Jozsef Young Writers Circle [FIJAK] at Szentendre on October 30, 1980. Since then, typewritten copies are being disseminated throughout Hungary. We also received the document in this manner, which we print in abridged form.

I am following this discussion with growing anxiety. I put aside the more important documents and continually repeat and transmit objections, but gradually losing my patience, I am again faced with my dilemma: For how long will the directors of our social system--the politicians--keep silent? Without the clash of ideas and active feedback, this summer conversation labeled as a discussion will merely become a collection of "voices from Rodosto"*(Sandor Csoori's expression). Among others, Erzebet Toth also threw the ball into the politicians' court...

Sometimes I feel as though the manner in which the interpreters and executors of political practice relate to the individual resembles the situation in a crowded district Trade Union clinic. The doctor has no time to deal with the patient, and merely dispenses medicine, tranquilizers and a few cliches. The patient is not afforded an opportunity to explain himself, and without knowledge of the nature of his illness, his recovery is made more difficult. I am well aware that there are incurable illnesses and the doctor cannot speak about these. The situation is worsened when the doctor continually administers placebos, or pills imitating medicine, which do not contain an active ingredient: Both he and I are aware of this, yet we continue to treat phantom illnesses, false malaise...

*[Translator's Note: An allusion to Kelemen Mikes, a young Transylvanian who accompanied Francis Rakoczi II to his exile in Rodosto (Turkey) after the defeat of the Hungarians at the hands of the Hapsburgs (1711). The writings of Mikes, which were in the form of a series of letters to an imaginary individual, were not meant for publication. His "correspondence" is seemingly oblivious to the defeat of the revolutionary forces and is conducted in a light-hearted carefree style.]

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A timely example illustrates the point: I (I!) want to assume responsibility for this document; I, Sandor Lezsak, a citizen of the Hungarian Peoples Republic (people's republic!), a resident of Lakitelek who is not denied participation in public affairs. Am I able to do this? No. The editor is responsible for the contents of his journal. We do not undergo a more agonizing spiritual torment than the editor's obligation of "self-censorship." He who has been burned once is not the only one who is overcautious. "Authority" automatically yanks the editor into a state of tetany.

At such times, with even the most flexible guidelines, the editor pulls rigid barbed wire around himself; hearsay, genuine information and circulating gossip turn the wheels of cowardice and fear. As a result of the constant tension which is thus created, he senses danger even near the wire.

To what extent does society, politics and the system trust you? If you finish your course of study, you can get a license: you can endanger the physical well-being of your fellow man. You can acquire a plot of land which you can wreck, you can even let weeds grow in it. You can decide to pay a fine and let your pollutants spill into the river. You can operate machines worth millions, you can oversee the water supply of a hundred thousand people. You can be a mycologist or a surgeon, you can teach children; and weapons are even placed into your hands so you can practice and, if need be, defend this country. And you would!

But you cannot start a private intellectual undertaking; you cannot publicly assume responsibility for your writings and thoughts under criminal law (and even more importantly: with your conscience). For example, you cannot start a journal, even though the risk to society and politics is small. If your undertaking does not conform to and serve the common good and if it does not further a healthy process, you are left to your own devices...

What do I want?

1. Knowledge of the History of the Recent Past. Many have already written that without this one cannot do anything with the present; we only exist like flower seeds strewn on a concrete highway. An anthology of these kinds of similes could be compiled by now, but that would be like lighting candles in the rain.

The possibility of knowledge of the 35 years that have passed since the liberation has ground to a halt with forbidden catchphrases: Imre Nagy, Rakosi, AVH, Petofi Circle, personal cult, collective farm organization, compulsory deliveries, Laszlo Rajk, coalition, trumped-up charges, 1956--the list could go on...I must ignore the fact that a significant portion of the films of the last 3½ decades is stored in fire-proof boxes and in projectionists' collections.

If the possibility of knowing our past conflicts with regulations, I will try to circumvent them. Since one rarely succeeds in gaining access to the restricted materials of libraries and archives, other possibilities remain--books and journals smuggled from the West and western radio stations. I also know

that compared to information obtained from true primary source materials, these are only random and unreliable attempts, and are no better than the pitiful struggles of domestic historiography. I want facts, documents and real knowledge. I want to know, understand and apply everything today that occurred before and after 1945 in Hungary, Europe and the world.

2. I Want to Understand the Present, the True Nature of Our Society. In many respects our information about domestic policies has sunk to the level of "general public whispering." The individual attempts to orient himself, but the terse rulings of the Central Committee are insufficient...

It is not the young generation of writers which is apolitical, but rather its situation. The shockingly false observation of today that "the golden age of Hungarian literature is over" (Sukosd) is an automatically soothing self-justification (at times I feel it is politically comforting).

It is not over: as a matter of fact, its responsibility today is greater than at any other time in Hungarian history. An accurate comparison made by Illyes is appropriate: "Each country's forward progress is like that of a Roman cart. It has two wheels: one is the public, i.e., the political, the other is the spiritual. When the two work together, all is well. If either one falters, trouble is imminent. What usually happens is that one takes over the job of the other. That is, either politics acts as though it knows better what literature is, or the spiritual life acts as though it knows better what literature or politics is."

3. Occasions and Opportunities Are Necessary for Cooperation. Only in this way can literature and the arts break out of the seeming (and increasingly observable) paralysis of self-torture. In truth, this breaking out already began at the end of the sixties and has since become stronger, except that it does not receive publicity, political influence or formal instruments. While the foul atmosphere of suspicion accompanies efforts to found a journal or a group, while symbolic handshakes are a substitute for dialogue, while the critics are unable to deal with literary experiments in "active resistance," while organizations and businesses disintegrate in bureaucratic red tape, "Literature, as it wallows in its own bitter juices, must learn to put itself beyond lamentation and shameful inventory-taking, and to revolt in the name of life fighting for the right to act" (Sandor Csoori).

The lesson is very difficult. I was elected and am thus a member of the board of directors of the young writers' organization bearing the name of Attila Jozsef (!) [FIJAK] which is linked to the Hungarian Writers Union. (Ed.: It has since been suppressed.) I am convinced that in its present form, with the tools and opportunities now at its disposal, it is unable to function. A recent example: In the spring of this year, we visited a few cities (Nyiregyhaza, Debrecen, Miskolc, Szombathely, Kecskemet, Karcag, Szeged, Pecs...) with the secretary of FIJAK attempting to incorporate those existing and functioning creative groups suitable for collaborating with into a more comprehensive intellectual movement capable of qualitative development. We tried to set up opportunities for meetings (among other things). The result was painfully pathetic.

Since then, for example, the group in Karcag was crippled by local suspicion, and plans for a meeting at Salgotarjan in the fall became snagged in the local labyrinth; the organizer of the Pecs meeting did not even receive the credentials necessary for his work...It is almost laughable how proposals, wishes and intentions raised at general members and board of directors meetings are drowned in the morass of incompetence.

Our work is cut out for us. Beyond the fact that we must learn to act and take advantage of opportunities, it is necessary to force answers from the politician in the context of individual dialogue. We need the response of the politician. Without this, we cannot go further. At most, we will be carried onward by the ROSE-COLORED JEEP (poem of Margit Szecsi).

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CARDINAL DISCIPLINES CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

Paris IRODALMI UJSAG in Hungarian No 1, 1982 p 3

[Article by Laszlo Kasza: "Cardinal Lekai and Armed Military Service"]

[Text] The constitutions of the Warsaw Pact member states do not permit their citizens to refuse military service for reasons of conscience. If in spite of this they decide to do so, they are sent to prison. In Hungary, paragraph 347 of the Criminal Code states:

"Anyone refusing to perform military service commits a criminal offense which is punishable by 1 to 5 years in prison, and in times of war, by 10 to 15 years in prison, life imprisonment or by death."

During the past 3 decades this paragraph has been applied primarily in the case of two sects, the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Nazarenes, whose religion forbids them from performing military service.

During the past year and a half, however, there has been an increase in the number of people refusing military service, especially among those demanding that in the member states of the Warsaw Pact it also be made possible for people objecting to bear arms for reasons of conscience, to perform so-called "social services" (i.e., caring for the sick, taking care of the elderly, etc.). This movement has been the strongest in East Germany, but it has also been significant in Hungary. In both cases, this demand has been voiced by church groups and by groups closely affiliated with the Christian churches. However, while in the GDR the movement has been supported by the leaders of the Evangelical Church, who have even issued a statement calling on the government to allow people to refuse military service, the leaders of the Hungarian Catholic Church have not given it their support. On the contrary, in a speech he delivered on the 125th anniversary of the consecration of the Esztergom Basilika, Cardinal Primate Dr Laszlo Lekai declared:

"As the primate of the country I am concerned to see that some of our excess-prone priests and parishioners have been urging our young people of military age to refuse military service. And they do this by citing the Holy Scriptures and the teachings of the Church, suggesting that our young people's resolute rejection of military service should be inspired directly by their Catholic faith. And we are shocked to hear that there are those who obey

their word. We are appalled to see that both the deceivers and the deceived have so little knowledge of Hungary's past. Could St. Stephen and St. Ladislas have repelled their enemies without arms and without the use of military force? It took hard-fought battles and heroic bloodshed. Why were they using arms such as bows and lances back then? Why? In order to uphold one's right to self-defense, one's right to be strong." (KATOLIKUS SZO 4-11 October 1981)

Cardinal Dr Laszlo Lekai went on to add the following to the opinions he had expressed in the above speech:

"...if the Catholic Church shared the views of the base community, and if there were many Hungarian citizens who refused military service, Hungary would be left without a military defense in today's world. We cannot assume this responsibility." (KATHPRESS, 24 September 1981)

Domestic public opinion has been stunned upon hearing that the country's primate has used the same personalities of our history to justify the necessity of military service in today's Hungary, who centuries ago had been fighting for our country's independence. We have also been reminded by Church circles, that the official position of the Catholic Church on the possibility of refusing armed service, as defined by the 2nd Vatican Council, differs from the views held by Cardinal Lekai.

Point 79 of the 2nd Vatican Council's pastoral constitution, which starts with the words "Gaudium et Spes," states:

"It would seem reasonable to expect laws to be understanding when dealing with people who for reasons of conscience are opposed to taking up arms, but are ready to serve the human community in a peaceful form."

The official interpretation of this conciliar position is as follows:

"The possibility of refusing military service must be recognized by reason of the freedom of the conscience, even if there are those who believe that this is an objectively incorrect attitude. Good faith--if it is genuine and, in addition, is based on reason--must be respected at all times. The specific problem in connection with this is: how to recognize good faith, and furthermore, how to carry out the substitute service through which military service can be replaced by a peaceful undertaking of tasks provided to society in a demanding and valid form.

"Generally, states that have worked out legal measures for dealing with cases involving the refusal of military service, have established two types of institutions. One is the court, or the committee, whose task is to seriously evaluate the decision of the person refusing military service. The other is civilian, in place of military service. The Council expressed a definite preference for this kind of a general solution. There is every hope, that in the future this position will help eliminate the reservations which several Catholic theologians and personalities still maintain regarding the refusal of military service." (Lexicon fur Theologie und Kirche)

Despite the position taken by the head of the Hungarian Catholic Church, there has been an increase--primarily among young catholics and the lower clergy--in the number of people demanding the right to refuse military service. A year and a half ago a group of them turned to Primate Lekai with the request of asking the episcopate to officially speak out--the same way the East German Evangelical Church has done--in favor of making it possible in Hungary also, to substitute social service for armed service. The episcopate refused to discuss the question. (GUARDIAN, 22 December 1981) In fact, Cardinal Lekai has even taken action against the priests who have expressed their support for this demand. Chaplains Laszlo Kovacs of Budapest and Andras Groman of Pomaz have been suspended. The suspension of Laszlo Kovacs was discussed in detail by the Austrian Catholic news service in its reports of 21 and 24 September 1981. In short, this is what happened: Laszlo Kovacs, the chaplain of the Queen of Rosary parish in Budapest, had been involved primarily in curing the souls of young people. On 22 August, he led a youth pilgrimage in Hajos. On the scene he was told that his superiors had forbidden him to hold his planned sermon. The more than 700 pilgrims present, however, demanded that he talk to them. Laszlo Kovacs complied with their request. He chose the message of the "Sermon on the Mount" as the central theme of his preaching. He emphasized that renouncing violence was a truly Christian position.

On 6 September, Laszlo Kovacs was summoned to the archdiocese of Esztergom, where he was subsequently told that he was to be the subject of disciplinary action. The proceedings began immediately. They refused to grant Laszlo Kovacs his request to suspend the hearings for 2 weeks because he had not had a chance to prepare legally for defending his position. In the course of the proceedings it was specifically emphasized that his church superiors considered his position on military service to be one of the causes behind the disciplinary action against him.

On 9 December, Cardinal Dr Laszlo Lekai informed Laszlo Kovacs of the disciplinary verdict in writing. According to that verdict:

1. His right to perform his clerical functions will be suspended for 6 months.
2. Laszlo Kovacs will no longer be allowed to reside within the territorial limits of the Esztergom archdiocese, which means that he must also give up his Budapest residence.
3. He will be transferred to Marianosztra. He will only be allowed to leave the village with the special permission of the parish priest in charge, and only after announcing the purpose of, and the reasons for his trip.
4. Any possible appeal of the verdict must be submitted through his bishop.
5. Any violation of the rules laid down in this order may lead to further punishment.

Laszlo Kovacs' case created a great stir in church circles. Many have denounced the country's primate for his orders. (A reference was made to this in the 4-11 October 1981 issue of KATOLIKUS SZO). Among the people who

disagreed with the order was Andras Gromon, a chaplain from Pomaz. When he openly criticized Cardinal Lekai's ruling, his bishop also suspended his right to continue his pastoral activities. Both orders were approved at the fall conference of the Hungarian episcopate. (UJ EMBER 18 October 1981)

The case of the suspensions, however, has continued to be a subject among the parishioners and the lower clergy. Many have expressed their protest against the course of action taken by the leaders of the Church. Here is a letter addressed to Primate Dr Laszlo Lekai by six priests, which is characteristic of the debate:

"Your Most Reverend Father Cardinal,

"We were shocked to hear that you have suspended chaplain Laszlo Kovacs.

"This suspension has had a great deal to do with the fact, that on several occasions our friend openly spoke out against military service. We were concerned to read Your Reverend's speech in UJ EMBER, in which you branded as deceivers and the enemies of the Church all those who for reasons of conscience have chosen to refuse military service,--saying--that it is in contradiction with the love of the country and of the Church. Furthermore, that this kind of attitude is inconsistent with the Holy Scriptures and the traditions of the Church. We were astounded, that in spite of this, you chose your arguments not from these but from Hungarian history.

"Today, when the camp of non-violence is becoming increasingly larger world wide, Your Reverence has come out opposing point 79 of the 2nd Vatican Council's 'Gaudium et Spes' pastoral constitution, in which the council gave its consent to refuse military service for reasons of conscience.

"It has come to our attention, that rather than triggering opposition, our brother priest, Laszlo Kovacs' speech has elicited a concurrence of opinion on the part of the priests in the Kalocsa archdiocese, who refused to sign a declaration initiated and requested by archepiscopal office director, Geza Kovats, denouncing Laszlo Kovacs. Subsequently, he informed Your Reverence that Laszlo Kovacs' Hajos speech was unanimously denounced.

"We take exception to the fact, furthermore, that because he had criticized Your Reverence's speech and the OBKB [Catholic Committee of the National Peace] declaration published in UJ EMBER, chaplain Andras Gromon of Pomaz was brought before the Church court by Bishop Imre Kisbereki and was given a temporary preliminary suspension.

"We believe, that during the present difficult times the Hungarian Episcopate should follow the same road chosen by the Evangelical Church in East Germany under much more difficult conditions.

"At the same time we were pleased to read, that the young people of Austria have expressed their solidarity with those Hungarian, East German and Czechoslovakian youth who have declined to do their military service (see the 18 October 1981 issue of WIENER KIRCHENZEITUNG), and who have been condemned by the official leaders of the Church.

"Our Marxist history books have taught us that the Church was always on the side of the ruling class, that it opposed all sound initiatives and that it provided an ideology for the ruling class. Unfortunately, in many instances this was indeed the case. It seems, that the present Hungarian hierarchy is continuing this tradition by ignoring today's timely problems and by trying to get their representatives out of the way, using medieval methods.

"Today, when even the leaders of the great powers are talking about disarmament, we find it inexplicable that the head of the Hungarian Church would speak out in defense of the military force which they call a reorganized force.

"Taking all of this into account, we are hereby asking you to please rescind the measures taken against our brother priest.

"Your brother priests in Christ: Tamas Horvath, Gyorgy Kocsi, Janos Redey, Gyorgy Szekely, Laszlo Varnai and Jozsef Vincze. On the day of St. Elizabeth." (10 December 1981, KATHPRESS;--10 December DPA;--10 December KNA)

According to reports from Budapest by Western newsmen, it is not just the Catholic Church which is becoming increasingly tougher with people who refuse military service, or demand to be allowed to perform social service in lieu of military duty, but also the various organs of government. (11 January 1982, Reuter;--24 December 1981, Reuter;--22 December 1981, NYT)

Miklos Haraszti, a writer living in Budapest, even mentions some names and cases in connection with this:

"Despite the fact that he was 47 years old, Dr Jozsef Merza, mathematician, was called up for military service. When he refused, he was subjected to psychological examination. His son--also for refusing military service--was sentenced to 5 years in prison. We know of four other cases in which Catholics have been either sent to prison, or put in psychiatric wards."

(22 December 1981, GUARDIAN)

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YOUNG WRITER EXPLAINS HIS EMIGRATION

Munich NEMZETOR in Hungarian 15 Feb 82 pp 1-2

[Article by Laszlo Gabor Hajnal: * "He Who Is Fainthearted Betrays His Contemporaries: Why I Emigrated From Hungary"]

[Text] When the plane took off on the afternoon of June 7, 1981, I felt very alone. Sitting somberly amid the crowd of carefree tourists, I meditated on the whys and wherefores of my escape. Though relentless self-examination is not easy, sometimes a balance sheet must be drawn up. Since then, during the tedious hours of refugee camp life, I often wonder whether my colleagues oppressed into "facelessness" were braver because they stayed, or was I the one who acted properly by choosing the fate of the "voluntary exile?" But could I have done otherwise when I was overwhelmed by the most elemental desire of a tormented creature: to live freely and without fear, to shout out the sentences stuck in my throat.

At a gathering toward the end of the sixties, the then renowned Bishop Ravasz was quoted in connection with the events of '56: "Kisses for the wounds, flowers for the graves!" This statement evoked a tremendous catharsis in me, for I was not acquainted with even one of those who had been wounded, nor did I know where the graves of the slain--the executed--lay. This however was not my fault. My older friends rarely spoke of the revolution, and even then it was wrapped in a cloud of mystery. It was not mentioned in the textbooks, and access to primary source materials is impossible, although the right to read is one of the human freedoms. I began to inquire with the naivete of a twenty-year old; I wrote poems, organized demonstrations and in November of 1969, from behind bars, I suddenly realized that to question the past is not a safe undertaking. Fortunately my isolated agonizing did not last long. On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of Soviet rule, i.e., "liberation," I received amnesty (and was simultaneously rehabilitated), and in a few months, was allowed to work as a journalist. But not for long!

*Laszlo Gabor Hajnal is a 33-year old young writer, poet and sociographer; he is a member of the domestically outlawed Attila Jozsef Young Writers Circle and has recently left Hungary as a political refugee. He is presently residing in a West German refugee camp. In 1969 he was sentenced to four years for subversive activities. Later, his writings appeared on the pages of UJ TUKOR, ALFOLD and KRITIKA, among others. He has edited numerous anthologies and has written several screenplays.

While traveling around the country and talking with people, I became increasingly aware that matters were entirely in order only in the communiqus drafted for foreigners. The thoughtful domestic observer often sees only Potemkin walls and does not understand how the party can advertise the success of its programs, a feat which it has been unable to prove for decades. Since journalists are obliged to explain and blur the series of mistakes incurred by the workings of political and societal government, I resigned from the newspaper writers guild in 1974, hoping that the disgust I felt at being an accomplice signified the beginning of a time of healing. I became a freelancer, and I honestly believed that the situation would shortly change, that the leaders of the country would finally observe the humanitarian points of the Hungarian Constitution, that democracy would not mean domination, but the assurance of truth and the possibility of declaring it. Although I have written poems, short stories, plays and screenplays. I chose sociography as my primary genre and set out to investigate the somber facts: Why young people burn out early, wander about without faith or hope, and become alcoholic, suicidal and neurotic. As Allen Ginsberg wrote in his poem "Screaming," "I have seen the best of my generation in the ruins of madness..." Similarly, each self-destructive fate pained me; struggling with tears, I listened to wrinkled, countless times defrauded, terribly weary peasants who were forced into agricultural cooperatives under the slogan of "collectivization."

For years I fought with editors, obstinately argued over deleted lines and did not accept the publishing authorities' stipulation: "For each negative, there must be at least one corresponding positive, because the primary duty of the socialist writer is to show the bright side!" A tremendous amount of material did not leave my desk, but I waited patiently and trusted that the peremptory "obligations" of the bureaucrats would not favor literature for long; the truth cannot be trifled with forever. Toward the end of the seventies, the winds of liberalism indeed began to blow gently, the half-and-half standard was no longer a stipulation and the so-called more "jolting" topics were able to see the light of day--in moderation, of course. Many young writers received scholarships and were able to go on foreign study tours, and dozens of different anthologies appeared. But truly creative groups hardly formed, because we were permeated with fear. It can be surmised that my generation carries suspicion within its genes, having inherited this trait from our parents who, during the war and years of the personality cult, learned that one must be careful with words and that the tongue can be a means of transgression. We too suspected others of being "rats" and presumed our friends to be informers. We accused others and we became the accused; all the while we longed for a vox humana and speech without deception with all our hearts, but this remained more or less only a desire as a result of extreme distrust. We did not realize that the method of "divide et impera" was ingeniously used against us.

A turning point came with the organization by the Attila Jozsef Young Writers Circle of a long delayed and finally reluctantly permitted meeting at Lakitelek (May 18-19, 1979), whose participants Tibor Tollas aptly named "the generation of the underground spring." During the conference, I also spoke (excerpts from my speech were carried in the February 1980 issue of NEMZETOR). I emphasized the importance of responsibility and courage in young writers and that the

(cultural) policy has totally succeeded in frightening away the majority of aspiring writers with the cynical Machiavellianism, "We forbid nothing but obstruct everything!" As a result, there is hardly an outspoken sociographer, i.e., factwriter, in this generation; they are uniformly gray and irresolute and do not even dare end their sentences with an exclamation point or a question mark. Yet, according to Andras Suto, "Where else is the writer's daring needed, if not in revealing the commonplace? What could be a more strictly held state secret than a given society's true state of affairs? What else is a writer if not the strangled hope of the crowd of anguished spirits who wait for him to speak also in their names? But at those times, we are brazen cowards."

We all hoped then that something new would begin. We dared to stand up and ask for an accounting of our suppressed history. We believed that this was the end of total silencing of the conscience and prolonged amorality. We were mistaken. At the meeting at Szentendre, the atmosphere was conspicuously chillier and the intelligent, brave opinions expressed by Sanyi Lezsak and Erzsi Toth did not serve to dispel it. We instinctively felt the tightening cordon behind us and that the officials of the Ministry for Cultural Affairs were racking their brains for sanctions against us. No matter!--a few of us gestured--the tornado will at most abrade, but not weaken our lines. After all, the pyramids were also honed in this way. Unfortunately, the more pessimistic ones--as yet only in jest--characterized the future realistically: "This is the kind of free country where the free man can do whatever he is allowed!" And they were right. In March 1981, the activities of the Attila Jozsef Young Writers Circle, around which the "generation of the underground spring" clustered, were suspended.

As soon as the short report in ELET ES IRODALOM disclosed the Ministry's decision, the network which had been presumed to be tightly linked disintegrated. Foolish gloaters stepped forward immediately with, "You see, it's impossible against the wind;" the more cautious said, "Did you hear what happened to the authors of the Bibo memorial book, even though they were noted writers...?" Curious reports began to circulate: So-and-so is being fired from his job, someone else is not getting a scholarship, etc. The rumors achieved their purpose, the weak were toppled in turn by ethical nihilism and the braver ones waited in vain for help. And everyone was open to blackmail of some sort: housing allocations, the admittance of children to the nursery or kindergarten, contracts for previously shelved manuscripts were quickly signed, various advantageous jobs were offered. The politicians of culture expediently tried to reach a compromise with as many young people as possible, and the knights of prosperity quickly realized that battle would not make sense now, if a profit can be gained. Only a few, too few, remained true to their original ideal, but those are deserving of respect who reasoned: if they become faint-hearted, they betray their contemporaries!

During the time I was making a decision, a thousand different emotions whirled within me: I chose to risk the isolation of the immigrant, for if I stayed, I would sooner or later be caught in the current, and it is uncertain whether I would be able to withstand the pressure of power. Being at the mercy of others may force one to do many things, but--as the saying goes--after the age

of Christ, man is responsible for his own integrity and deeds. But we have arrived at the question: am I the loser or perchance, have I won? I do not know yet. For me, the refugee camp is like the caisson of the miner striving from the deep toward the sunlight: a transitional residence between two closed places of differing air pressures. But wherever my road may turn, I stubbornly believe that the representatives of the soul cannot be robbed, their right to think about their country, people and nation cannot be taken away from them and written up as their crime if they are concerned about the Hungarian past, present and future. Again I quote from Andras Suto: "Language is not sacred scripture, but neither is it constrained to any sort of hooliganism!" Yet in a country where every third word is unspeakable, I could serve only as an outlaw.

I hardly packed anything into my suitcase. Before my departure I walked through the streets which were familiar to the point of boredom; while walking, I memorized John Hus' most beautiful prayer: "Search for truth, listen to truth, study truth, love truth, speak truth, guard truth till death!" I stored this moral command and a few ideas to write about later in my mind, since I know that in Hungary, only thoughts are duty-free and do not have to be declared.

9956
CSO: 2500/200

POLAND

LETTER FROM POLISH INTERNMENT CAMP PUBLISHED

PM011121 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 1 Apr 82 p 5

[Report by "Our Diplomatic Staff": "Polish Prisoners Tell of Martial Law Ordeals"]

[Text] Allegations that prisoners at a Polish internment camp were systematically beaten and made to run a gauntlet of baton-wielding guards on the day marking the third month of martial law reached THE DAILY TELEGRAPH yesterday.

A letter signed "A Prisoner of the General (Jaruzelski)" was dated 16 February 1982, and came from an internment camp at Wierzchowo Pomorskie, in western Poland.

The letter starts: "Right from the beginning this day felt different. Around 10 am the commandant of the internment camp summoned us prisoners to a meeting. The commandant called a few of the internees from Koszalin aside.

"During this meeting Major Gadowski behaved in a very vulgar, offensive and provoking fashion. The prisoners from Koszalin did not react to these insults, apart from Sliwinski, who answered back. His response had an immediate reaction: He was given 7 days' solitary.

"The day was also different in that there was a strengthening of the sentries, i.e., the meals were supervised by two guards, not one." The internees were told "more interesting attractions await you in the afternoon."

"At approximately 6 pm the screws who were on duty that day entered the cells. Behind them stood their colleagues in full battle kit, i.e., long batons, helmets with visors and riot-shields.

"After entering the cells, they demanded the erasing of slogans demanding the unlocking of these cells...so we decided not to provoke the screws and erased the slogans.

"The first assault occurred when the aforementioned Sliwinski was ordered out of Cell 10. Sliwinski assumed that he would be taken to the isolation block, but as he went out of his cell, those inside heard what sounded like a series of blows.

"They heard him cry out: 'Why are you beating me? Oh Jesus!', followed by more slaps and blows. This provoked a reaction from his colleagues: They made a noise by banging metal plates and cups.

"As the guards shout: 'Sons of whores, we'll settle with you, we'll teach you how to behave. Beat them on the head. Walesa's bastards, because of you we can't go home,' they break into Cell seven where those brutally beaten up are dragged into the corridor.

"It is actually here that the real 'attractions' of the evening start. Along the path there are many infuriated prison guards. The first of the emerging internees are kicked, brutally beaten with fists and long batons.

"They are driven along the so-called 'path of health,' a corridor some 30 to 40 metres long, and then a footpath joining the first and fifth block. Those who are beaten while running along the length of this 'path' end up in the isolation block.

"A similar situation took place in Cell 20 where, after shouts in the corridor, inmate Piotr Baumgart reacted by shouting to one of those in charge: 'Sir, what is happening out there?'

"As if in answer, several infuriated guards burst into the cell and among the blows, kicks and slaps could be heard shouts of 'Beat those Walesa-ites, sons of bitches, go to Lech, maybe he'll help you.'

"After the first beatings, Lieut Ambrysiewski [?or, Ambryszkiewicz] called out: 'Get into the corridor.' The prisoners saw this order was yet another prelude to the 'path of health.'

"One internee runs along the snow barefoot; another, in his own excrement. All five try to protect their heads from the raining blows. All the while, the guards, sporting Polish eagles on their helmets and lapels, shout, swear and insult them."

The letter then describes how internees had to attend an evening assembly where they were forced to stand to attention in a straight line. Some of them were beaten again for refusing to stand straight.

Later on that night, "after the blood had been wiped off the floor where Julian Jozwiakowski [?or, Jozwiak] had been beaten up, around 9 pm the inmates were warned against singing."

Internees were apparently in the habit of singing Polish national songs and hymns after lights-out.

"At 11 pm the officer of the day ordered internees to be examined by a camp doctor to describe their beatings. This examination took place in the presence of an unknown civilian and a few screws.

"A few of the internees, particularly from the isolation cells, were unable to sleep the following nights unless given sleeping pills and drugs.

"On the next day M. Sadlowski, P. Baumgart and H. Nakieta had severe nausea, sickness and other symptoms of brain damage. Z. Lakomski fainted during the Sunday exercise and later, as brain damage was suspected, was taken to hospital.

"During the 'action' on 13 February, two ambulances arrived in the evening, but were sent away empty.

CSO: 2020/43

'DEFORMITY' OF POLISH LANGUAGE VIEWED

AU151646 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Mar 82 p 4

[Commentary by Michal Struczynski: "So That the Polish Language...."]

[Text] "No other people are less in love with their own language than the Poles." This is how Mikolaj Rej complained in the introduction to his "The Image of Honest Man's Faithful Life." Szymon Szymonowic went even further: "Language is the worst man can do in the way of art." Was the Polish language uncultivated, defective and given to babbling just anything even then?

There must have been something in that because Juliusz Slowacki professed this in his "Beniowski": "I want a supple language to express whatever thoughts one's head produces." As we know, Slowacki the poet was the architect of the special beauty of our language.

Concern for the language and its unique form and expression is like a recurring wave and is something of a constant motif in Polish cultural consciousness. The intensity of that recurring wave has differed in the course of centuries--it has ebbed and flowed--but it has rarely acquired such political intensity as it has now.

This is no commentary ex cathedra, and we do not regard ourselves as being called to determine which of the many external factors have inflicted the greatest damage on our language and continue to threaten it most. On the other hand, convinced that such factors do exist and that it is our social duty to name them, we bring up this issue once again, because our language is our fatherland--one of those fatherlands that are closest to man. That is why it is not a matter of indifference how we love our language.

We have said that this issue is of great political significance. Just as are national historical consciousness, national cultural and artistic heritage, and the culture of moral and political choices, so is a national language (perhaps most of all) a sign of national identity. This is why our attitude toward our language should be more heartfelt and more responsible than a pupil's simple attitude to a subject taught at school.

Let us think about our language as a factor in social rapprochement and accord. Does the language we now use serve such an important cause well?

For many years the language has replaced reality for many people. It has been a screen and a tool for deforming the image of real social and political relations. It has ceased to be a means of communication and has increasingly become an element of some magic ritual. We assert that not only state policy and official propaganda have supported such a process of distortion of our language. The same word and the same concept have been used to express the most varied and contradictory meanings, depending on who used them and on what he wanted to express. Let us just mention the recent vagaries of such concepts as progress, renewal and justice. These concepts have become plasters, chewing gum, blindfolds and missiles in political struggle. They have served every purpose and have therefore become almost empty sounds. Almost every social, vocational and political community has made a great contribution to such distortions of our language and has again justified Szymonowic's sarcastic statement that "language is the worst man can do in the way of art."

The need for renewing our language constitutes, under these conditions, a program of urgent concern and activity. The tasks of schools and artistic institutions that use words are enormous in this regard. But the tasks of all the social forces who want the renewal of our sociopolitical language life now and in the future--a socialist renewal for the good of all our people--are even more enormous and responsible. We have to say outright that it is hard to imagine socialist renewal being successful without a truly successful struggle for our language--for its purity, openness and explicitness.

CSO: 2600/610

POLAND

PZPR DELEGATE ADDRESS AT INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS NOTED

AU301700 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27-28 Mar 82 p 6

[Report by PAP correspondent K. Mroziewicz: "The 12th Congress of the Indian Communist Party--We Need Enduring Alliance of the Forces of Progress--Speech by the Chairman of the PZPR Delegation"]

[Text] Benares—On 26 March, during the successive session of the 12th Congress of the Indian Communist Party, a speech was made by Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, PZPR Political Bureau candidate member and chairman of the PZPR delegation.

W. Mokrzyszczak extended greetings to the congress from the PZPR and PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski.

He discussed the events in Poland in the past few months and their causes, and dwelt on the results of the countermeasures and on the action program for the next few months. "It is our wish that martial law be over as soon as possible, and that it effectively protects the country in order to overcome the crisis," he said.

The session welcomed with applause that section of W. Mokrzyszczak's speech in which he assured that Poland would not leave the road to socialism and that the party would do all it could to ensure that socialist Poland makes a significant contribution toward strengthening the position of socialism in the world and toward consolidating international peace and cooperation.

W. Mokrzyszczak stressed that the alliance of the forces of peace and progress is now more necessary than ever before. We are ready, he said, to contribute to it and we believe indefatigably that, despite threats, the world will embark upon the road to peace, progress and justice.

He stressed the enormous significance of the help given to Poland by the USSR and other socialist countries, and noted the importance of the understanding and support offered by all Poland's true friends.

CSO: 2600/610

POLAND

'POLISH ANALYST' CITED ON UNDERGROUND PRESS

PM2915457 Paris LE MATIN in French 27 Apr 82 p 16

[Article by "Polish analyst" in Warsaw not further identified: "Poland: The Fear of Confrontation"]

[Text] The Polish resistance is now entering its second phase. The first was one of taking stock while the population was still in a state of shock. People were tentatively seeking each other out, grouping together by family, friendly and professional affinities. The organizational links established by Solidarity seemed to be broken. Although they survived at grass roots level in the enterprises, Solidarity as a whole was "sliced up" by the proclamation of martial law. Nationwide links had to be reestablished from nothing.

Once the first wave of spontaneous rebellious strikes had subsided, many members sustained themselves with dreams illustrated by the slogan: "The winter is yours, the spring will be ours." People prepared for events rather than trying to plan them. The main clandestine activity during that initial period was publishing. Underground newspapers increased from around 100 at the end of December to 1,700 in mid-March, but most of those publications only produced a few hundred issues. Today some "night newspapers" are running more than 10,000 copies. Production techniques range from ordinary typewriters to sophisticated rotary offset machines, as in the case of the Warsaw weekly MAZOWSZE. The first job of that clandestine press was to publicly proclaim the population's indignation. The ban on traveling inside the country, the paralysis of the telephone network, and the break in contacts considerably limited the amount of news in those publications. That press had scarcely any organizational functions, each clandestine editor merely proposing symbolic protests in one form or another.

A document produced by Deputy Prime Minister Rakowski's office in mid-February expressed satisfaction at that collapse. However, it was premature satisfaction since, despite all its weaknesses, that press has nonetheless helped to encourage resistance. Its distribution networks have gradually become the main means of reestablishing contacts regionally and then nationally.

The trade union has gradually begun to reorganize around the elected leaders who escaped the roundup. That immediately sparked off a lively debate on

the need for such "centralization." That discussion already marked the beginning of the second phase. As always, the organizational problems in fact reflected different assessments of the political situation. For instance, in the Warsaw region, where the debate went furthest, it centered on the subject of centralization or decentralization.

Bujak and Kulerski, chairman and second vice chairman of the region, advocate diffuse resistance with a maximum of decentralization, whose strength would lie in the workers' spontaneous solidarity and high morale.

In this hypothesis the trade union's clandestine regional leadership has no command role but merely provides means or examples for the activities of decentralized groups. Those who advocate these tactics think that, since the resistance would be essentially passive, it would be impossible for repression to hit really hard.

Romaszewski, a member of the trade union's National Commission, however, writes in the clandestine press advocating a strong and flexible underground trade union organization. There would be on the one hand "decentralization" of the enterprise cells and, on the other, centralized technical networks responsible for settling pamphlets and for communications and so forth. At the center there would be a real leadership, regional initially and national as quickly as possible.

In that hypothesis the resistance would move toward increasingly active forms while saving the forces of the enterprise cells for the big battles. The everyday struggle would essentially be waged by the "networks [i.e., nets ["Sieci"]]."

The Threshold of Despair

According to Romaszewski, Bujak's and Kulerski's proposals are based on the idea that 13 December marked the defeat of the "national insurrection" after 15 months of struggle and that a long period of regression is inevitable, during which the main point is to preserve what is left, avoiding forms of active resistance.

Romaszewski thinks that 13 December was merely one lost battle and that it is vital to organize for the next one. The provinces seem divided. In the traditionally militant regions of Gdansk and Wroclaw it is Romaszewski's position which dominates. Krakow, however, supports Bujak, and Poznan is undecided. The discussion is only just beginning.

Recently Workers' Self-Defense Committee [KOR] founder Jacek Kuron, interned in Bialoleka camp, managed to pass out a document in which--without knowing it--he says essentially the same as Romaszewski. That letter made a strong impression.

Despair is the ally of dictators until it reaches the point at which the masses feel they no longer have anything to lose. Now, in Poland the workers are coming dangerously close to that threshold: Their wages are no longer enough to feed their families. They are having to take their last reserves from their stockings and their savings accounts.

At the same time the men in power are being increasingly open in showing their intention to destroy any vestige of freedom.

The expected announcement of sackings on a massive scale in order to "discipline" workers could provide the spark in the powder keg. Thus the militant grass roots are asking for clear directives. They no longer simply want to collect trade union contributions and distribute the clandestine press. Here and there workers are taking spontaneous initiatives like boycotting "collaborators": Posters are even being put up on the doors of their apartments. For instance, a similar campaign forced Olinski, the director of CEFARM, the state pharmacies, to go to a sanatorium for treatment for his shattered nerves. Some workers are even advocating the use of "violence" against "collaborators." That suggestion was made in a letter to the Warsaw Region leadership.

At a deeper level, those grass roots are demanding the prospect of struggle. Aside from a few small groups of diehards and desperados who want to fight immediately and dream of "armed struggle," the vast majority of members are asking the same question despite 13 December. If it is impossible to strike down this government, how can it be moved?

Those who call for active resistance hope that by channeling the masses' growing pressure in that way they will be able to force the government into a corner and that the Russians will sound the retreat in face of the danger of insurrection. The way of negotiations and compromise would then be open. "However slender it may be, it is the only chance; otherwise a Sovietization worse than that in Czechoslovakia awaits us," according to a document written by one of their supporters.

Even if the advocates of the long-term strategy, backed by ecclesiastical circles, accuse their interlocutors of excessive "despair," they must admit that their hopes for a reasonable solution have been dashed.

Back at the end of March even the most resigned people were beginning to advocate taking action. It is not a question of confrontations. Various spectacular actions are being planned to "restore the masses' confidence." The broadcast by Solidarity's pirate radio is the first illustration. The Government is using them to stir up anxiety. For instance, on 20 March at the Foreign Affairs Institute in Warsaw, Ciosek, the minister responsible for trade unions, no longer had any hesitation in saying that "the Government is aware of the risk of bloody riots in which 10,000 people could perish. But," the minister cried, "the Warsaw Pact will not abandon us. They will come in."

CSO: 3100/660

SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF MILITARY TECHNICAL ACADEMY NOTED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 1, 3 Jan 82 p 19

[Article by Jaroslaw Malyszko: "MTA Invites Industry"]

[Text] Today, we present, and by necessity in a very shortened form, the achievements of the scientists of the Military Technical Academy in several areas of modern technology. Many times this number of achievements could be shown. By observing the work of teams of scientists of this school, several important conclusions can be drawn. MTA is an institution whose cadre represents a high scientific level.

Thanks to this and to good organization, scientific and research processes are proceeding along the right track: theory, experimental confirmation of theory, and application, prototypes of materials, machines, and instruments. This concerns the basic line of interests of the school, the perfecting of the country's defense system, and the applications of the technical expertise of MTA to the national economy.

In the country's present situation we need a stake in the future like never before--trump cards which can once again lead us onto the road of progress. The modern technical thought presented by the scientists of MTA is one of these trumps. The scores of applications and projects prepared for application represent for the national economy a conservation of raw materials, means of production, and energy, improvement of licensing, replacement of imported raw materials and other materials with domestic ones, new and cheaper technologies, and particular equipment whose production is not possible anywhere else in the country.

Utilizing this possibility will not be easy. Experience to date has indicated that industry too seldom shows a sufficient interest in modern technology. Positive examples, such as suspended explosive materials or parabolic springs, unfortunately, are not the rule.

Therefore, in preparing for economic reform, it cannot be forgotten that without creating mechanisms which will stimulate industries to innovate and to introduce modern technology, while it will be possible to escape the poverty at the nadir of this crisis, no development of the country will be possible. We have already squandered many opportunities--let's do everything possible to keep from further wasting our native technological abilities.

Lasers

If it's MTA, it's lasers, if lasers, it's MTA. This association has been part of the social consciousness for many years. The Optoelectronics Institute of MTA not only works out new types of these instruments but also produces them on order of the Omel association, using the money earned for further work.

Laser technology offers tremendous potential in many areas of industry and in medicine. For example, a device made at MTA for microsurgery of the eye is used in the Warsaw Medical Academy for treating certain types of glaucoma. It has saved the sight of many people.

One of the most important achievements of the institute is the "holocamera." This is a device which, using the light of a laser, takes two holograms (spatial pictures) in a very short interval of time. A comparison of these two pictures gives a range of information about the photographed objects: movement and distortion of machines and their parts while in operation, stress, strain, material faults, etc. The camera has been used on the construction of the Petrochemia installation in Plock; research on aviation design is being prepared at the Aviation Institute in Warsaw. This type of research cannot be done in any other way.

Parabolic Springs

Instead of 18 rods, only three, instead of almost 150 kg, not quite 65 kg. These are the parameters of the bus spring developed at MTA's Mechanical Institute. The idea of the new spring is the shape of the rods--instead of 10 or 20 flat rods of various lengths, 3 of them, not flat but of a parabolic profile, suffice. Theoretical calculations indicate that the new springs should be 3-4 times more durable than the traditional ones. If even some buses, trailers, semitrailers and trucks were so equipped, the savings of spring steel could amount to 30,000-35,000 tons annually, which at current prices represents about a billion zlotys. The Polmo association wants to take advantage of this opportunity and is beginning field tests of Autosan buses.

Explosive Materials

It is difficult to imagine work in mines and quarries without the use of explosive materials. Because in such work there is always a danger for the life and health of a person, cost is no object in making this work safer.

This problem was undertaken by the Institute of Explosive Materials at MTA, and soon after it appeared that not only can explosive materials be made considerably safer, but can return, with interest, to the national economy the costs of research. This is because of the development of so-called suspended explosive materials. One of the varieties of this material, first used in strip mining, has been produced by the Pronit plants in Pionki in several-ton amounts. This material is completely unaffected by mechanical stimuli or high temperatures, and the semiliquid form (it is 1/5 water) makes it possible to pump it into blast holes.

The simple technology, low costs, use of domestic raw materials, safety of production and application, and the low concentration of harmful substances after an explosion are the basic advantages of this new material. Other types are being prepared which can be utilized in underground mining of coal and copper.

Infrared

Devices whose operation is based on the utilization of infrared rays are making a hit all over the world. In addition to their military applications and their use in space programs, they are being applied more and more in various areas of industry.

Infrared devices developed at MTA are used in the cement industry (in the study of temperature distributions in rotary furnaces) in foundries, and in mining safety. These devices make it possible to measure a temperature at a great distance from the heat source.

Infrared-ray-emitting devices also make possible the analysis of the chemical composition of various substances. There is for example an informational series of exhaust analyzers for automobile engines during operation.

The basic element of all these devices is the infrared detector (sensor). Detectors produced at MTA not only serve in a constructed apparatus but are also exported to Western markets. For one detector, which fits in the palm of the hand, we receive as much hard currency as for 10 tons of coal. One dollar for 20 zlotys--you can look long and hard to find that kind of foreign hard currency profit rate in other specialized areas of export.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. p 19, top. Lasers are the mark of MTA. Col Dr Zdzislaw Jankiewicz and Lieut Marek Skurczynski with a prototype of a new device.
2. p 19, middle. The director of the group of liquid crystal technologies Dr Eugeniusz Kruszelnicki-Nowinowski, Wanda Kaniewska, and Urszula Karczmarczyk preparing the next experiment. One of the many achievements of the group is the development of a technique to utilize Polish liquid crystals for displays (calculators, watches, etc.) produced under the Japanese license.
3. p 19, bottom. One of the stages in the production of infrared detectors is the spreading in a vacuum cell of thin layers of semiconductors. Captain Dr Miroslaw Grudzien collects samples of the produced substances.

9915
CSO: 2600/511

POLAND

BRIEFS

OLSZOWSKI, SOCIALIST AMBASSADORS--Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary, met with the ambassadors from the fraternal socialist countries on 19 April. During the meeting he discussed the current problems of ideological work and the key lines of the party's activities in light of the recent national ideological-theoretical conference. [Text] [AU231250 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Apr 82 p 2]

SUSPENSION OF NEWS PROGRAM--Polish Radio reports that beginning 10 May a 10-minute program of topicalities will be broadcast in the second program, as well as on medium wave and VHF, by local radio stations. The aim is to provide rapid political commentary and information for works' radio relay systems. On the other hand, in view of the need for essential repairs and maintenance of technical equipment, we are compelled to suspend the broadcasting of the morning television news as of 10 May. [Excerpt] [LD071934 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 7 May 82]

CSO: 2600/609

ROMANIA

ECONOMIC, POLITICAL CRISES, TM SCANDAL RESULT IN PURGES

High Level Purges, Hungarian Satire

Paris LE MATIN in French 14 May 82 p 12

[Article by Bernard Poulet: "Romania: Massive Purges at High Levels of the Party"]

[Excerpts] For several weeks the Romanian government and communist party have been undergoing an unprecedented purge. A minister, several deputy ministers, including some high officials of the Securitate apparatus, have lost their positions. In all, more than a thousand people are affected. At a time when Romania is going through an unprecedented economic crisis, these firings seem to indicate that the power of Nicolae Ceausescu could be contested.

The economic crisis which threatens to make Romania a "second Poland" perhaps has had its first economic consequences. By mid-April, some 250 high party officials, including deputy minister of transportation, Cornel Burada, had been purged and the estimate is that more than a thousand members of the Communist Party and of the government are currently "under investigation."

Even more surprising is the dismissal, announced on 28 April, of Aneta Spornic, minister of education and member of the political bureau [Political Executive Committee] of the Communist Party and of two of her deputies. Mrs Spornic was supposed to be a close friend of Elena Ceausescu, the wife of the president and number two in the regime. Finally, BULETINUL OFICIAL of 20 April (the Romanian official journal) revealed that two generals, Vasile Moisie and Gheorghe Zagoneanu, the deputy minister and the state secretary in the Ministry of the Interior, had been "relieved of their duties."

Thus, in a few weeks, a whole part of the management elite, including members of the all-powerful police apparatus, has been purged.

Why? The first official explanations note the infiltration into the state apparatus of a "transcendental meditation sect," to which several dignitaries were said to have belonged. According to the Ministry of the Interior review PENTRU PATRIE, the goal of the sect was "to overthrow the regime, to get Romania out of the Warsaw Pact and to dominate the world."

Supposedly, this sect was established in Romania 4 years ago and was guided by a certain Nicolae Stoian, whom no one seems to know. In any case, it would be hard to imagine such a large number of Romanian officials engaging in transcendental meditation, even clandestinely.

On the other hand, this purge, unprecedented since the days of Stalin, could be a sign of a crisis deep within the leadership in the face of the unprecedented economic catastrophe which the country is experiencing. Not only has the foreign trade indebtedness of Romania reached \$13 million but also, the food problems are becoming dramatic. Last fall, they resulted in a strike in the mines of the Motru Valley. President Ceausescu, who tried to go there, was greeted by a volley of stones. Then we learned about the many letters from workers and peasants who violently denounced the government policy.

The tension became so great that crises at the top were expected. The hold of the "Ceausescu clan" over the state and the party has already been criticized in private conversations in Bucharest. The president and his wife have placed most of the members of their family in positions of high responsibility.

On 29 March, an article in ROMANIA LIBERA sketched a panegyric of the son of the leading family, Nicu Ceausescu, placed in the position of dauphin. "What good fortune to have a son who resembles his father so much," exclaimed the author of the article.

The latest events could indicate that there is something in the wind against the Ceausescu team. Or at least that the regime has made the first move in order to prevent a bad blow.

The wave of purges is also directed against Romanian intellectual circles. Among the victims of the purges one finds the names of Marin Sorescu, prestigious director of the literary review RAMURI and member of the committee of the Writers Union, the art critic Andrei Plesu, and the vice president of the Academy of Sciences [sic], Stefan Milcu. All, in one way or another, had questioned the absolutism of the head of state. Even the famous musician Gheorghe Zamfir, currently on a tour in Switzerland, is said to have received the "advice" not to return home.

Foreign observers in Bucharest think that the purging of intellectual circles might also signal an aggravation of ideological control in preparation for an "ideological congress" this summer.

But the threats in regard to the future of President Ceausescu have already received a type of confirmation in a fraternal country. At a time when personal attacks against socialist leaders are banned from the government press, the organ of the Hungarian Communist Party, NEPSZABADSAG, published, on 13 March, a transparent satire directed against Nicolae Ceausescu. Of course, the Romanian president is not named but the author of the article portrays the president of a "neighboring city" who dreams only of constructing a prestigious past. It is known that Ceausescu has attempted to trace the origins of the Romanian people back to the Dacians and even to the Thracians. "The near-by and distant neighbors (read the Hungarians and the Soviets)," the author says,

"had little reaction since they were accustomed to the extravagances of the aforesaid city. Privately, they expressed the idea that the city would be better off to be concerned about the state of its roads, the clock on the townhall, or, for example, with reimbursing the neighboring town for the 83 kg of paper which it has borrowed." Harsh, the article stresses the cult of the personality carried to such a point that "even favorable weather" is attributed to the president of the city.

It would be surprising if such an article were published without approval from a very high level. Meaning Moscow. In the periods of tension between Moscow and Bucharest, Hungary had always given veiled warnings to the Romanian leaders, on several occasions. This time the little story ends with the downfall of the "president."

Interview With TM 'Guru'

Paris LE MATIN in French 15-16 May 82 p 9

[Article by Irina Bossy and Bernard Poulet: "Romania: The 'Guru' Stoian Is Thunderstruck"]

[Text] LE MATIN contacts the person whom Ceausescu has named as the head of the "plot" directed against him.

According to the Bucharest press a number of Romanian personalities supposedly have been involved in a plot hatched by a transcendental meditation sect (see LE MATIN of 14 May). These revelations were accompanied by a purge which is unprecedented in the high spheres of the Romanian Communist Party and the journal of the Ministry of the Interior accused Nicolae Stoian of being the "guru" of this sect. Yesterday LE MATIN interviewed Stoian who currently lives in Western Europe.

The "guru" of the "transcendental meditation" movement, accused of having plotted in Romania "to overthrow the regime, make Romania withdraw from the Warsaw Pact and to dominate the world," said that he was completely abashed by the Romanian accusations.

A French national of Romanian origin, Nicolae Stoian says that he went to Romania about 6 years ago at the request of a "person who had heard about the movement and wanted to meet him." On this occasion, other Romanians, "no celebrities," wanted to learn about his teachings. "Then," he explains, "we made an official request at the Ministry of Education to obtain authorization for the establishment of a center. We never received a reply and, of course, I never met the minister, Mrs Spornic, who has now been purged, despite her friendship with Elena Ceausescu. The most important person with whom we had contact was Cornel Burada, deputy minister of transportation. But he began taking our course only recently."

Although he recognizes that he had some followers in Romania, including some in positions of responsibility, Stoian denies that there was a "conspiracy." "Some of the people accused in the Romanian press worked with us but most of

them were unknown to us, notably, the two generals from the Ministry of Interior who were just removed."

"It is hard to understand," he explains, "how a group whose purpose is 'the pacifying of the spirit' could plan to overthrow Nicolae Ceausescu. Unless the 'leader' thinks that spiritual peace is 'subversive.'"

Actually, the affair of the "sect" seems like a pretext for a purge, worthy of the great days of Stalinism where the doctors in white shirts were accused of wanting to assassinate the little father of the peoples. Of course, one can suppose that President Ceausescu, really fearing a plot, might have found these private "meditation" sessions suspect but the evidence is very sparse. The Romanian president has used the pretext to proceed to a big purge.

The affair is the latest symptom of the crisis of the Romanian regime. The fact that a good number of responsible communists have felt the need to take refuge in transcendental meditation is, certainly, another symptom of the malady.

CSO: 3100/681

ROMANIA

PURGES, DOMESTIC MALAISE DISCUSSED BY BRUSSELS PAPER

Brussels LE SOIR in French 18 May 82 p 3

[Article by Pol Mathil: "A Climate of the End of the Reign in Romania"]

[Excerpts] Although he reigns in a country with an absolute monarchy and holds the presidency of all the existing organs of power, Nicolae Ceausescu prefers trips abroad. It is a paradox but it is not surprising that when he obtains indisputable successes in his diplomacy he only adds to his difficulties at home.

During the past few weeks Ceausescu, the head of a small country, has had a diplomatic itinerary worthy of a superpower. He visited China, North Korea and Greece; he hosted visits by Alexander Haig and the Turkish General Kenan Evren. He sent his private counsellor, Vasile Pungan, to see Begin and express his satisfaction "for the return of the Sinai to Egypt, an important event in the peace process" (he is the only Eastern leader to do this). At the moment when sparks were flying between Berlinguer and Moscow, a delegation from the Romanian Communist Party went to Rome to announce the mutual desire of the Romanian and Italian communists to develop and expand their contacts."

But at home, it is a situation of crisis and malaise. The recent purge which removed 1,000 personalities and militants of the regime (250 of whom are under investigation) is very significant in this regard. The "trigger" is confusing if not absurd. Charged with belonging to or tolerating the "Transcendental Meditation sect," established by a Romanian living in Switzerland, but legal in Romania since 1976, the following were purged: Aneta Spornic, the minister of education who was also a member of the highest party leadership, and her two deputies; the deputy minister of transportation, Cornel Burada; two generals in the militia, Vasile Moisie and Gheorghe Zagoneanu, deputy ministers of the interior; and the vice chairman of the Academy of Sciences, Stefan Milcu, and others.

The affair is much more complex, and not at all transcendental, and, like always in totalitarian countries, the purge reveals only the tip of the iceberg. First of all, it is interesting to note that the principal grievances formulated by the Ministry of the Interior's review in regard to the sect concern its plans to "snatch Romania out of the Warsaw Pact." Thus, it is a question of a clear Soviet warning, given by a faction within the Romanian

government to another faction committed to relative autonomy for Romania. The accusation is very reminiscent of the one which was formulated by Moscow against "Solidarity" in Poland. The confirmation of such an interpretation came from Hungary where the press, for the first time, has attacked not the Romanian policy toward the Hungarian minority in Transylvania (that would not be new) but the head of the Romanian state himself. And, it is highly unlikely that an unusual attack on an Eastern communist leader in the press of a "fraternal country" can be undertaken without the approval of Moscow.

The second aspect is no less interesting. Under the pretext of an "accountability of cadres," which is a common thing in Romania. Ceausescu is trying to abate the muted but perceptible anger resulting from the corruption of power which goes beyond all bounds even when measured by Romanian standards. Ceausescu is hitting high to try to cite the scapegoats responsible for the "Romanian malaise."

This was the framework for Sunday's purge of three deputy ministers, under the charge of "violation of financial laws"--Alexandru Margaritescu from foreign trade, and Enache Sirbu and Adrian Rogojeanu from agriculture and the food industry. Obviously, the Polish example, namely, the downfall of dozens of former party leaders including Edward Gierek, the old "brother and friend" of Ceausescu, prompted the Romanian president to make the first move.

Indeed, there is the scent of the end of the reign in Bucharest. Neither the aberrant cult of the "leader" nor the presence of his entire family in key posts has succeeded in ensuring the invulnerability of power established solely on nepotism. However, despite a disastrous economic and food situation, Ceausescu really does not have to be afraid of a popular revolt. The Romanians are not the Poles, and the historic and social factors are incomparable.

On the other hand, Ceausescu has reasons to fear a palace revolution. Indeed, his "administration," especially, the tendency of the presidential couple to subjugate the intellectuals completely and to arbitrarily manipulate the party apparatus, has established a climate which is more and more likely to destabilize the cadres and cause them anxiety.

For the first time--and this is no coincidence--a group of Romanian intellectuals has drafted a memo on the profound crisis in Romanian society. Ceausescu reacted, according to form, by purging several intellectuals, threatening to dissolve some associations of writers and artists and scheduling for the month of June "the Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture," the miracle tool which is supposed to retighten the ideological screw.

The last congress of this type was in 1976.

CSO: 3100/674

ROLE, APPLICATIONS OF PSYCHOLOGY IN CONTEMPORARY LIFE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 1, 5 Jan 82 pp 14-17

Article by Dr Mielu Zlate, University of Bucharest: "'Psychology and Life' or 'Psychology of Life'?"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics

Text In contrast to other social and human sciences that are still in the stage of questions about their object, psychology is greatly privileged from this viewpoint, it being an independent science with a well-defined object of study, with more and more fruitful attempts to determine the causal, necessary, thus lawlike relations between the phenomena that it studies, with its own methods of investigation. It is true that some authors are still asking themselves "what psychology is," whether "it is a science or an art," some asserting tautologically that "psychology is what psychologists do," others metaphorically, but extremely suggestively, that "psychology is the science that must be done with art." Of course, the evolution of psychology--as of other sciences--has not been linear and ever upward, but, on the contrary, strewed with difficult moments, which has also caused some authors to speak and write about the "crisis" or the "tragedy" of psychology.

In fact, the existence of a theoretical system that legitimizes psychology as a science and the growing utility and efficiency of the psychological research done in all countries of the world for the purpose of exploring the psychoindividual and psychosocial universe of the people are closely connected with the growth in the number of psychologists and of units in which they perform their practical activity, with the appearance of institutionalized forms (such as the associations of psychologists) and with the multiplication of the national and international psychology publications, conferences, symposiums and congresses. At the same time, perhaps the number of requests that come to psychology from the various social organizations and institutions has increased as an expression of their need to optimize their activity from a psychological viewpoint too.

In past years, psychology gained not only from an "intensive," in-depth viewpoint but also from an "extensive" one. From child psychology, school psychology, the psychology of work, the psychology of art or psychopathology, regarded as traditional,

psychology now has over 30 applicative branches. Social psychology appeared as a result of the growth of the role of interpsychological relations between people, of so-called "group psychology"; organizational psychology, due to the growth of the work of scientific organization and management; psychotechnology, meant to pursue the study of the general relationship between man and industrial products meant for personal, household or social use; flight psychology or space psychology, as a result of the development of the research connected with the conquest of space; and so on.

The development of psychology has always been connected with the practical requirements, with the very development of human society, with the problems with which it is confronted and with which it must cope or to which it must give a suitable answer. This is perfectly valid for Romanian psychology too. Now, perhaps more than ever before, as a result of social processes of maximum importance (intensive urbanization, the acceleration of the demographic rate, the institutionalization of individual and socioeconomic actions and processes), of the development of technical, economic and social progress, and of the impact produced by the scientific and technical revolution on man's life and especially due to its imminent transition to a new phase of its development, even more complex tasks stand before psychology.

However, the following questions are raised: is Romanian psychology prepared to cope with such tasks, requirements and demands and can it make its prompt and effective contribution to solving problems with repercussions both on the plane of individual life and on that of social life? It is hard to give a positive answer to these questions.

One notes a stagnation, if not even a regression, in the activity of the psychologists and in the efficiency of their research. Although, until not long ago, we could have spoken of the existence of a true Romanian psychological school, with internal variations in it (the psychology of learning, in Bucharest; the psychology of the personality, of its ethical and value aspects, in Iasi; experimental psychology and the psychological and pedagogical study of persons with sensory, mental and other deficiencies, in Cluj-Napoca; and psychopathology, in Timisoara), at present, the manifestations of this school are pallid and inconclusive. In addition, although, until not long ago, the efforts were concentrated on empirical, experimental, field research, on the finding of solutions that could have found immediate applicability, today, perhaps with slight exceptions, most psychologists are oriented toward the preparation of textbooks, treatises, works of synthesis (which are also necessary, of course, but which, on the other hand, signify rather a remoteness from the concrete, real problems that await their solution). Although, in past years, a true theoretical and methodological effervescence, a seeking, a self-devising or adaptation of work instruments, a creative rivalry and a feverish, creative and engaging spirit were present, today, one sees the appearance of phenomena of apathy, of erosion of professional motivation, of routinism and even deprofessionalization of psychologists. Such assertions could seem exaggerated to many. In our opinion, they reflect a reality.

However, the analysis, with lucidity and a sense of responsibility, of the causes that led to this situation, and the distinguishing of remedies for rapidly overcoming and eliminating it, seem more important to us than noting what the state of contemporary Romanian psychology is. Regarding the causes, we feel that they involve, on the one hand, the psychologists themselves, their inability or incapacity to understand and assert their profession sufficiently well, to select the problems for

investigation, to make themselves appreciated and accepted, and, on the other hand, those who must support and encourage psychology, must accept, assimilate and apply the results obtained by it, not through words and statements, but through effective organizational measures. We feel that a few explanations are necessary in this regard.

Despite incontestable results that can be neither denied nor doubted, Romanian psychology lost ground in past years because of its remoteness from /life/, from the current, everyday, but burning problems of the human condition and existence. Although it seems paradoxical, this came to pass at the same time as its approach to various applicative fields of social reality, of human activity.

It is known, for instance, that the general public wants answers to apparently simple questions connected with the /formation/ of personality traits, with the /changing/ of behavior, with the /guidance/ of one's own behavior or that of others, with /knowledge/ of practical operating methods and instruments that could be used in this sense. However, on opening a psychology text or book, the people would be more or less disappointed. They will find there much information with a descriptive, explicative and interpretative character about sensations, perceptions, thought, memory and so on, but less information with a formative character about individual or collective human existence, carried on in the most diverse social circumstances and contexts, about the possibility of intervening in order to optimize them.

Perhaps not by chance, in 1926 and then in 1938, Mihai Ralea titled one of his studies and even one of his books "Psihologia si Viata" [*Psychology and Life*], in which he tried to grasp the need to implement psychology in the most diverse fields of social and economic life (in the scientific organization of labor, in vocational orientation and selection, in the organization of commercial advertising, in pedagogy, medicine, justice and so on). The need to answer concrete problems of life caused perhaps other authors too, years later (in 1969), to take the respective title in order to give it to one of the collective works signed by them. And yet we can ask ourselves why psychology and life, interpreted somewhat separately, apart from one another, and united occasionally by the conjunction "and"--consequently, why psychology /and/ life and not /psychology of life/ [*in boldface*], which would see to its current problems of maximum importance for the real social existence of the people, for their concrete, individual and collective destiny?

Psychology's relative remoteness from life also came about in another way--namely that of the complicating of the research methodology. Although the modern methodologies of investigation and interpretation of mental functions, processes and activities are extremely elaborate, complicated and pertinent, they tend to empty psychology of content, of substance. Within the framework of such overtechnical methods, man becomes a simple and trivial encoded symbol in formulas, while his feelings, motives and aspirations become "factors" or "variables," and concrete life, with its living, breathing, human problems, is "cast" into tables, diagrams and correlation coefficients. With good reason, such psychology, from which the last bit of life has been extracted, is not just ignored, but, purely and simply, repudiated.

We want to be well understood. We are not against the modern methodologies of research and interpretation of the data collected, but against the excessive and abusive use of them, sometimes as an end in itself, to highlight first the erudition of the author, against the gratuitous use of them to demonstrate in a roundabout,

obscure and complicated way the...obvious itself. We plead for a presentation that is simple but not simplistic; suggestive, graphic and not dry, cold; intelligible and not deliberately filled and complicated with highly specialized technical terms. The problems of human existence and life, however complex they may be, can be detected and assimilated by means of psychology, in order to contribute to the devising of active behaviors within the social organizations and systems.

In the last 15-20 years, we, the psychologists, have made significant efforts in the direction of studying the different forms of human activity--school, production work, spiritual creation--in order to improve their functionality, to increase the efficiency and productivity of those in these fields. The study of human activity, of its psychological structure and functionality, of the conditions for success or failure, of forms of adjustment or maladjustment, resulted not only in the enrichment and diversification of the theoretical knowledge but also in significant practical gains (psychograms and professional monographs were prepared, suitable instruments for diagnosing and measuring the different mental capacities involved in carrying out the different professions were devised, measures for avoiding the accidents due especially to causes of a psychological order were established and so on). Consequently, a Romanian psychologist was justified in asserting that human activity itself should constitute the object of psychology.

Nevertheless, in the study of human activity, we have lost sight, I believe, of the fact that within it, besides the actions, operations and movements that are performed, there are also many mental states that not only accompany and color man's mental experiences and life but also influence the efficiency of his activity. The states of content-discontent, satisfaction-dissatisfaction, the positive, invigorating or negative, depressive ones, those of mental equilibrium and calmness or of nervousness, uneasiness and anxiety, the states of acceptance or those of rejection, of apathy or of enthusiasm and creative effervescence represent not just factors that facilitate or hamper human activity and the performances obtained, but man's concrete life itself. If to them we also add the fact that mental states are extremely "contagious," being transferred from one person to another, from one group to another, we will understand even better their significance for individual and social human existence. However, the research on mental states has not concerned the specialists to a very great extent, and it is all the less possible to talk about the establishment of the psychology of these states.

Significant progress has also been made in the direction of the study of mental functions, but the analysis and interpretation of mental phenomena with a great impact in the realm of existence, and especially of human relations, have lagged behind. Phenomena such as cooperation and mutual assistance, rivalry and competition, interpersonal and group tensions and conflicts, either in a latent state or in a manifest state, those of social fashion or imitation, mentalities and prejudices, attitudes and opinions, conformist or deviant behavior and so on are still dealt with insufficiently. Although social psychology has tried to research them, to delve into them, to decipher their nature, structure and functionality, it has not succeeded, to a sufficient extent, in relating them to the big problems that rack society, in viewing them "from within." For example, they have not been related to the phenomena of political psychology, moral psychology, to the vast problems of the formation of the socialist consciousness of the man of a new type. This explains why some of the important social problems, such as, for instance, those of collective leadership, of worker self-management or of participation have been tackled insufficiently from a psychological or psychosocial perspective too.

Nor have the relations between the psychologists in the departments of higher education or the research institutes and the practicing psychologists always functioned suitably. Rarely have the dialogue and the mutual assistance between them been real and authentic. In fact, the latter, once trained, have been purely and simply "abandoned," left to fend for themselves. The activity of the practicing psychologists, although not always ending in spectacular results, must not be underrated at all. (A number of steps meant to intensify the dialogue to which we referred have been taken within the Association of Psychologists, but they are too recent for us to be able to give our opinion of their effectiveness.)

If to the above we also add some deficiencies of a methodological order (the absolutization of tests as methods of mental diagnosis and the neglecting of the positive aspects of other methods of psychological investigation, the lack of methodological unification of the use of tests) and of an interpersonal or group moral, ethical order, manifested at the level of the whole psychological community (some much too evident interpersonal tensions, some tendencies of supremacy and so on), we will understand even better why the psychologists have not managed to gain respect for their own profession to a sufficient extent.

Undoubtedly, such shortcomings of psychology created a relative gap between the requirements manifested toward it and what it offered or was able to offer at a given time, which has led to the appearance of reactions of mistrust in the possibilities and effectiveness of psychology. Consequently, it is necessary for the psychologists to involve themselves more actively and varyingly in studying the /real/ and /vital/ problems of the people and society, to increase the effectiveness of their own activity.

In my opinion, it is also useful for psychology to incorporate more persistently into itself the /explorative, predictive/ and even /critical/ dimension, revealing with more courage and a spirit of responsibility certain dysfunctionalities of interhuman and group social life. Otherwise, it would condemn itself to being or remaining a sterile, factualistic, illustrative science. However, in this way, psychology will not respond to one of its main tasks, that of helping to bring about changes in the activity and mentality of the people, manifested in acts, in their responsible and competent work in different spheres of social life.

Another category of causes that explain psychology's lagging behind the social requirements is just as varied and complex as the first. In our opinion, they involve: the unfavorable attitudes exhibited toward psychology by some decisionmaking forums or persons; the lack of the proper organizational framework for performing the activity; the inadequacy of the material means of investigation; the poor professionalization of some of those who practice psychology; and the dysfunctionalities appearing in the relations between the psychologists and the beneficiaries of their research. Let us refer briefly to each of them.

Psychology is one of the sociohuman sciences that possess unsuspected formative potentialities. It offers the possibility of knowledge and self-knowledge of the features of some of the mental processes that we experience or of the personality traits that we have and it permits the organization, control and guidance of both one's own behavior and the behavior of others and even of social groups. Experience has shown that through the use of psychological means it is possible to obtain the same effects as in the case of the use of technical, financial and administrative means.

When psychology is defended or praised by psychologists, this seems natural to us. However, when it is encouraged and supported by specialists belonging to other fields, this acquires a special significance. In past years, more and more economists, for example, have grasped the importance of psychology for increasing the efficiency of economic activity. They are for the introduction of psychologists into the structural organization of the enterprises, for the interpretation of the organizational structures of the social organizations from a perspective from which the psychological dimension is not absent, and for the conceiving of the psychological factors that arise in work activity as factors for growth in labor productivity. On the occasion of conferences and advanced training periods or even in the press, teaching personnel in the most diverse specialties denounce the absence of thorough knowledge of psychology in their training as an obstacle, a great difficulty in the activity done with the pupils. Doctors too also realize that the psychologist can be one of their main allies in the action of preventing and curing illnesses. And we believe that this is not the place for us to dwell on other specialists who also feel acutely the need for information with a psychological character. This is why we feel that psychology must be a part of the /general education/ of every person.

Under these conditions, it is hard to understand--as Liviu Filimon also considered in his article "Psychology and Education" in the periodical ERA SOCIALISTA, No 20, 1981--the step, taken by the Ministry of Education and Instruction, of removing psychology as an object of study from secondary education (except for pedagogical and health education). It is not possible to speak of the real self-orientation of the young people for choosing their future profession without knowing their psychological limits, interests, inclinations, aptitudes and possibilities. Just as it would hardly be possible to assert that without suitable knowledge about spiritual life, about the human mind, it would be possible to form in young people a scientific, dialectical-materialistic, atheistic outlook. Just as it is clear that it is not possible to count on the self-education of the young person if he knows next to nothing about the features of will and character, about the psychopedagogical measures capable of strengthening the traits of the personality. The new orientation of education that more directly connects the pupil with life and with production implies more and more acutely the presence of a "minimum" of psychological knowledge.

The idea that no form of human activity, no profession, can be carried out properly and efficiently without the presence of psychological knowledge is already accredited on a world level. Teaching personnel who run technical higher education have understood this, providing in the training of future engineers a concentrated course on the psychology of work, accompanied even by seminars. The same thing could not be said about university education. In our opinion, the knowledge of child psychology and school psychology possessed by future teaching personnel, molders of the human personality, is extremely limited and flimsy because of the small, totally insufficient number of hours devoted to these disciplines. Sometimes, in various departments, we even encounter wholly "original" situations. There is, for example, the teaching of a course on school psychology for the duration of a single semester, not accompanied by a seminar or practical work, with "the promotion of the students on the basis of the activity during the year." The attitude of resistance to providing psychological training to future professionals seems to be unjustified to us. It deprives the young people of the acquisition of knowledge that could help them to organize and optimize their life and existence.

It is known that an activity cannot be achieved at high parameters of efficiency if it is not organized, institutionalized, if it does not have well-defined standards

and regulations, organizational structures. However, what is the status of the profession of psychologist from this perspective? We could answer that it is still ambiguous and uncertain in the sense that, although in certain sectors, in certain social organizations, it is well thought out and well set up, in others such a status is not taken into account, although the psychologists are not absent. The Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications has fully understood the necessity and utility of psychologists in providing traffic safety, in preventing and eliminating accidents, it organizing for itself a network of psychology laboratories not only extensive from a quantitative viewpoint (with branches in the majority of the counties of the country) but also well articulated from a methodological viewpoint (with periodic advanced training for psychologists by means of postgraduate courses). A few other ministries and even some industrial units (the "Repubica" Works, the Baneasa IPRS Enterprise for Radio Parts and Semiconductors in Bucharest, the shipyard and the iron and steel combine in Galati, the chemical combine in Fagaras, the Resita ICM Machine Building Enterprise and so on) have also concerned themselves with the organization of psychology laboratories. The same thing cannot be said about other social organizations that have minimized or even denied the importance of psychology and psychologists in the factory, school or clinical field. The practice of "likening" the psychologist to other specialists or professions, the appointment of him to a post of office worker, in the personnel department, and so on are not capable of creating the optimum framework for carrying out an activity of obvious social utility. On the contrary, they limit the activity of the psychologists, lead to insufficient use of the scientific potential of personnel with institutionally certified training, and cause their presence in certain social organizations to be formal. The young psychologists (insofar as they can be called such, since their professionalization through specialized institutes of higher education has not been done for several years) are, depending on the circumstances, sometimes tolerated, sometimes ignored, sometimes negated.

Nor is the research activity benefiting from flexible, efficient organizational structures. In my opinion, the unification of the former Institute of Psychology with that of pedagogical sciences is not capable of providing the framework suited to the performance of psychological research. In this way, the area of the research is narrowed just to the school field, with the other fields of psychology (the psychology of work, medical, forensic, social and organizational, military, and sports psychology, the psychology of art, psychopathology and so on) remaining practically uncovered by specialized research.

In addition, it would be good, I believe, to create the possibility of increasing the means needed for carrying out the activity of the psychologists. Just as a chemist, for example, requires a laboratory and, especially, substances that he may combine in order to prove the existence and importance of chemical reactions, just as a physicist requires apparatus in order to make findings and measurements, and just as a doctor absolutely requires instruments and substances in order to diagnose and, especially, to cure, likewise a psychologist requires a minimum of means in order to be able to perform his activity. More often than not, however, the buildings in which psychological research, experiments, tests and evaluations are done are improperly called laboratories, and the instruments used are limited in number and often rudimentary, some of them having only a teaching and demonstrational value. Although in the field of psychology the inventions of psychological apparatus and instruments for detecting and measuring mental characteristics of man are not absent, the approval and construction of them and the distribution of them to the research and educational

units or to the applicative units have been done slowly. The equipping of the psychology laboratories with modern and sufficient means of research (some of them can be procured even through their own forces, through self-equipping), backed up by the multiplication of the efforts of the psychologists in the direction of unifying the methodology for using them, could help greatly to revitalize the activity of the psychologists, to increase its efficiency.

To this could be added the fact that the existing material means have not always been used, either, with the necessary skill. Just as a scalpel cannot be put in the hand of a nonexpert in order for him to operate with it, likewise a test, a piece of apparatus or any other instrument of mental diagnosis cannot be entrusted to a nonpsychologist in order for him to use it. The compromising of a field, even of a science, by those uninformed and untrained in the mysteries of the respective profession is perhaps the most serious thing. However, unfortunately, this has happened often in psychology. Persons not just insufficiently qualified but, purely and simply, not trained at all have been hired for posts of psychologists. However, the profession of psychologist, like any other in fact, requires competence, specialized training. This is why the development of specially trained personnel for this field and the re-training or reprofessionalization, through postgraduate courses, of those who now work in the field of psychology, but who do not have special psychological training, and of those whose such training is far out-of-date are becoming an urgent necessity. The providing of methodological assistance by the psychology departments and institutes in the different university centers to all those who feel the need for it and request it is also just as useful.

The exploration of the inner, subjective world is, as is known, hard to achieve. The detection of a thought or feeling, of motives, aspirations, ideals--latent or manifest--with a big role in the guidance of individual and group behavior is infinitely more difficult than distinguishing some or others of the physicochemical properties of an object. The fact is overlooked that the human interrelational behavioral plane, along with group psychology (motivated by traditions and customs, mentalities and prejudices, attitudes and opinions, beliefs, imitation, fashion and so on), reveals more reluctantly its own functionality, is more reluctantly subject to research and especially to direct intervention for correction or generalization. The tendency of clients to accept from psychologists just those solutions, suggestions or proposals that are expected, wanted and in agreement with their own intentions, ignoring or eliminating others just as real and effective, has often shown its negative consequences. I would refer to just one example. Contemporary social psychology has demonstrated that thinking and labor are much more productive if they are done in small groups (from 3-4 to at most 10-15 persons), a conclusion also supported by our psychologists. However, to what extent is this finding taken into account in forming the school and university groups? To a very slight extent, of course. With the exception of artistic education, the general tendency is not to decrease but to increase the number of component persons in such groups, a matter that reduces the instructional and educational efficiency. The practice of transforming the psychologists into mere suppliers of data and especially of recipes, a matter that drives them into narrow, routine practicality, is also just as unsuitable.

Another aspect must also be added. Mistrust in psychology is often manifested either by those who have not even heard of it or have extremely limited knowledge of this field or by those who have never applied psychological solutions. Openness to psychology is manifested by those who have encouraged the performance of psychological

research, have supported morally, but also materially, the organization of it, have applied, if only partially, the proposals made. A year ago, SCINTEIA published an article in which there were related the findings and conclusions of a psychologist at the shipyard in Galati resulting from the performance of research, on the initiative and with the aid of the management of the yard, which, once applied, led to significant growth in labor productivity. Such examples could be multiplied.

It is no less true that, in their turn, the psychologists, being aware of the complexity of their object of study, make still timid attempts to study the concrete behavior of the people directly involved in resolving the proposed goals, postpone too much the solving of problems with which they are faced, and exhibit reservations, sometimes extremely exaggerated, toward their own conclusions. Under these conditions, it is natural for a number of "short circuits" to appear on the line of the relations between psychologists and clients.

It is obvious that psychology is not a miraculous science, one that can produce changes overnight, but a science among the other sociohuman sciences, with unsuspected possibilities, but also with significant limits (of an epistemological or methodological order). It is thus necessary that it be understood that only relations of cooperation and mutual support represent the sole way to contribute to the growth of the efficiency of the different social systems.

Under the conditions in which psychology's social value and utility are more and more known and recognized, the mobilization of all the efforts in the direction of restructuring and enriching the research problems of psychology, in its aspiration toward unity, balance and interdisciplinary cooperation and, especially, toward growth in its coefficient of practical efficiency, along with growth in the theoretical and applicative relevance of the research and solutions proposed, represents a major desire. Otherwise, the gap that is beginning to be established will be very hard to make up later.

Romanian psychology possesses sufficient forces, which, properly reactivated and united, could be engaged in the concrete, systematic, responsible and efficient approaching and resolution of the tasks, making their contribution to forming the human personality, to affirming its self-awareness, capable of mastering the external world and its own mental interiority.

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ROMANIA

WRITER ACCUSED OF 'DENIGRATING PERSONALITIES' IN WORKS ON INTERWAR PERIOD

Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian 19 Feb 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by Constantin Sorescu]

[Text] "At the same time, we should not forget that we have an obligation toward the party, toward our people for their future and should not make a concession to any kind of nationalism and chauvinism and should firmly combat any attempt which wishes to injure the granite unity of our people and all workers, regardless of nationality. We should not forget that the enemies of socialism, the enemies of the working class always have used chauvinism and anti-Semitism and other forms of stirring up nationalism in order to divide the working class and the progressive forces." Nicolae Ceausescu--from the speech delivered on 26 January 1982 on his birthday.

Z. Ornea, a hard-working literary historian, has proven in his last two books that he has fixed his area of research on the interwar era, included between the end of the World War I and the second world conflagration. "Traditionalism and Modernity in the 20's" and "Commentaries" which appeared consecutively (1980 and 1981) due to the hospitality of the Eminescu Publishing House actually achieve covering the entire period. Studies and articles such as "Maiorescu and the First Generation of Maiorescu followers," a "Democratic Tradition of Romanian Life," "Sadoveanu and Democratic Civics," "Pages From the Antifascist Struggle of Romanian Intellectuals," "Petre Pandrea or Antifascist Militarism" "The Frankness of Memories," all first published in periodicals and gathered with amazing speed in the second volume, bring the research of the era up to the end of 1945.

Z. Ornea's labor demands the respect of clearing up (already) old collection of reading and rereading books not published for five decades or even more and of attempting to give order to the tensions of the era in a unified picture. His subjects for meditation, named on every page of the studies, are nationalism, chauvinism, mysticism, Orthodoxy, Legionarism, terrorism, antirationalism, thracomania (which comprise the negative aspects of the interwar era) and rationalism (which is established as the positive emblem of the era evolved). The principle with which the literary historian wishes to research this complex set of problems is that of the truth, as he openly confesses, in the short article entitled "Utilization of the Literary Heritage" in the second volume:

"To deliver the truth about a creative personality (and about any cultural phenomenon--editor) and to bring out the ideological deficiencies in his work should not mean either excommunication , minimalization or denigration, but a true repayment. We believe even that a diplomatic detour or an ignoring of the real difficulties within a work (and of a phenomenon or an era--editor) is an implicitly or explicitly deforming procedure and through it, denigrating to the minimum." (p 268). Unfortunately, Z. Ornea's last studies are guilty precisely of detouring and ignoring of the real difficulties posed by the interwar era. And what is more: his current method omits, deforms and minimizes denigratingly certain personalities (starting with Eminescu!) and certain phenomena and philosophical trends starting with rationalism itself, as the defender of which he sets himself up to be. Profiting from the fact that the exegesis of the interwar cultural phenomenon in Romania, unfortunately, still is in an incipient phase, the author of "Traditionalism and Modernity" attempts as an nice proverb goes, to look after number one, more quickly seeking analogies in order to disgrace our modern personalities and magazines while the single concern should be shaping pictures of the era in the light of the truth.

All through the one thousand pages, Z. Ornea rightfully stigmatizes nationalism, chauvinism and terrorism which were demonstrated in interwar Romania. We know that our entire left movement in those years and today the communist party came out and are coming out against any kind of nationalism, chauvinism of any tint and the terrorism, regardless of who practices. Although he is expressly concerned with these phenomena which are to be condemned, Z. Ornea does not find even an appropriate moment to bring them out in all their breadth and diversity.

In the era which Z. Ornea has researched in both his books, all kinds of nationalisms and chauvinisms were demonstrated in the world and within each country. Our communist party, its youth organization, the entire left and democratic intellectuals firmly combatted both the nationalism of Nichifor Crainic as well as the terrorism of Max Goldstein, both the nationalism of Al. Gregorian as well as that of Nae Ionescu, that of George Soimu and Viorel Trifa up to that of C. Dumitrescu-Zapad and Ion Caraion. An honest historian should not omit any one of these in his analysis.

The 20's, to which the historian dedicates nearly 700 pages, begins with a serious terrorist act which the repressive regime had to use as a pretext to arrest the leaders of the communist party (and the entire worker movement in Romania and its abolishment as a political formation). However, Z. Ornea passes over in silence the reproachable terrorist action, pretending he does not know anything about it when he speaks of the trial of Dealul Spirii, although historians of good faith never forget to bring out the incomprehensible nature and evil consequences. We should recall what it is about in order to understand where the researcher's fault lies. On 8 December 1920, a terrorist group, headed by Max Goldstein, acting outside the worker movement, organized an assault on the Senate. In the trial of Dealul Spirii, in which 271 political prisoners appeared, the abovementioned terrorist group also was integrated. More than that, the authorities used it as an "argument" in the attempt to show that our communist party was comprised of "plotting and terrorist groups which were isolated and estranged from national interests" (see M. C. Stanescu, "The Trial of Dealul Spirii and the Reverberation Produced in Domestic and International

Public Opinion" in STUDII. REVISTA DE ISTORIE, Volume 24, No 3, 1971 pp 467-485). But, after perpetrating the attempt begun by Max Goldstein, the provisional committee of the Romanian Socialist Party published a statement which firmly condemned this foreign act of struggle methods of the worker movement in Romania: "In this way, too, we want to show that the socialist party as well as the trade unions decisively condemn acts, which are in contradiction with the documents of scientific socialism and the tactics of worker movements, which struggle against establishments, but not against persons. Such attempts not only cannot be of use to the class struggle of the mass proletarian movement but everywhere they have been committed, they have led to a burden for development of the worker movement" (SOCIALISMUL, XIV, 1920, No 268, 10 December). It is precisely the trial of Dealul Spirii which painfully reflected in what way the terrorist act committed by Max Goldstein's group led to a great "burden" for the development of the worker movement in Romania, particularly since, during the trial, the would-be assassins confirmed the authorities' suppositions, aiding them in their attempt to denigrate the communist party.

What is telling is the definitions which the militants of the worker movement tried to make of the terrorists' principles and action. The accused T. Marin said bluntly: "I do not understand for what reason Max Goldstein's act casts shadows on accusations and why a closeness is being made between him and me. I am a Marxist and I defy the assaults, which are the work of individualist anarchists" (AURORA, II, 1922, No 122, 20 March). A. Dobrogeanu-Gherea adopted the same tone: "There is no tie between the communist concept and the assaults, which we disapprove." In his deposition, the "witness" C. Radulescu-Motru emphasized that in Romania socialism never had a terrorist nature (AURORA II, 1922, No 176, 29 May). The question is why Z. Ornea, whose scrupulousness is recognized, does not begin his list of the terrorisms committed in Romania in the 20's, in chronological order, with that which was used with a view to eliminating our worker and communist movement? Does he feel it is so insignificant as not to at least want to record it? The diplomatic detour which he blames with such vehemence in this case, as in so many others, has a lot to say. Z. Ornea does with two hands what he is combatting with just one: bringing out just certain terrorist acts and chauvinisms and not mentioning others, as long as the principles of our left and of our communist party demanded and do demand condemnation of all those, he devotes himself to a following worthy of a better cause.

It is interesting that although he wishes to undertake a complex analysis, with the tools of sociology, of the interwar era and, primarily, the 20's, Z. Ornea invokes totally and completely incidentally the left press and that of the communist party. Speaking at every step about nationalism, chauvinism, anti-Semitism, terrorism, mysticism and other negative cultural and political phenomena of the era, he limits himself to bring out the opposition to these made by E. Lovinescu and the SBURATORUL supporters, seeming not to have heard of the campaign led by SOCIALISMUL and TINERETUL SOCIALIST in the first part of the 20's against these scourges, or of the worker self-defense brigades, or of the League Against Terror organized by the united trade unions, or of the TAR (Antiwar Youth), an organization created in 1933 at the recommendation of the RCP CC.

Let us say that a portion of these organization appeared after the end of the 20's, but the other portion placed their bases in that decade so that nobody (not even Z. Ornea) has the right to speak abusively of nationalism, chauvinism, anti-Semitism and terrorism in this period without also speaking of the opposition made to them by the working class and the youth, in a word, our people, without emphasizing their class nature, lack of support for our spirituality and origin composed of those who professed it, proven to be non-Romanian, particularly since the communist press and, more broadly, the press of the left spoke out against all these characteristics even while they were being spread.

Nowhere in his massive volume (and neither in the studies from the second one), does Z. Ornea decipher the class nature of nationalism, although even from the beginning of the era which he analyzes the press of the communist party and its youth organization tried to demonstrate it, incriminating any kind of nationalism: "So our movement has the general nature of attacking the Jewish population. But not only that. This finding can only stop the Jewish nationalists in their places. He sees that their skins are threatened and think that this is the entire purpose of the attack: tanning their hides. The Jewish nationalists cannot see further than their noses. However, for us, these demonstrations have a much more general purpose: to distract the working class' attention for a moment from their vital problems and later to throw the responsibility for the workers' misery on the Jews and the final goal is to destroy the proletarian awareness among the masses of industrial and agricultural workers" (TINERETUL SOCIALIST XI, No 18, 10 December 1922, in the article entitled "The New Anti-Semite Campaign"). The researcher of the 20's believes that only with well-deserved epithets ("riotous," "hooligans") does he succeed in explaining the appearance of the extreme rightist organizations. The qualifications of the type "diversionary factors at critical moments" (p 66) and "useful tool for diversionary maneuvers" (p 68) do not truly succeed in explaining the notorious National Christian Union, the League for National Christian Defense, the Romanian Action, the Christian Social League, the National Fascis, the Legion of the Archangel Michael, some short-lived, other longer lasting, which acted in the 20's. In vain does Z. Ornea take pride in the fact of the "attempt to give space in a work of literary history to the social-economic problems" (p 303), since it remains a simple attempt.

It is regrettable not to see and not to clearly express the artificial imitative nature and antiworker nature of the nationalist movement in the 20's and not to analyze them from the Marxist perspective of the phenomenon, particularly since so many left activists denounced them in the analyses which viewed even the middle of the decade which concerned Z. Ornea with such zeal. For example, Tudor Teodorescu-Braniste demonstrated in 1933 that the "anti-Semite movement" which appeared in Romania more than a decade before was an "artificial movement" whose intention was to make a "game for the Romanian bourgeoisie" concerned with finding all kinds of pretexts in order to powerfully hurt the workers: "And, so, in 1924, the anti-Semite movement reappeared from the blue as a pretext for action against the peasant and worker movement. Several dozen or more or less Jewish heads were broken." But these measures for order were not directed against those who broke the approximately Jewish windows and heads. No. These measures for order were directed against the worker and peasant movement. In vain

the leaders of the workers shouted: "We are not guilty of anything. We are working further, among ourselves, for our goals, without fanfare, without provocations! Why are you hitting out at us, when others are provoking?" "The Romanian bourgeoisie pretended it did not hear or see anything. If there was a squabble out on the street? It hit. But not at the ones creating the squabble. Not at the anti-Semites. But at the ones who were organizing and working methodically. At the peasants and workers" (the article entitled "Following Dissolution of the Iron Guard," CUVINTUL LIBER No 7, 23 December 1933).

Z. Ornea seems to know the activity of the "hateful" (p 51) Stelian Popescu, organizer of some "vitriolic and degrading defamatory campaigns" very well (p 55), a person who, toward the end of the decade, was called the "cruel irony" before the head of the department of justice (p 61), the head of UNIVERSUL LITERAR, the magazine "of gossiping platitudes, with collaborations and collaborators without significance, which kept company with boor jokes that are not funny, and low can cans (p 185) and so forth. The adjectives which the historian places on Stelian Popescu are justified; is there any doubt? However it is suspicious that he did not see that that same Stelian Popescu is, even in the year he was appointed to justice, the hero of an event which once again brought to light the "artificial" nature of anti-Semitism and nationalism in Romania of the 20's, programmed and directed from behind the scenes by the bourgeoisie in its totality,. The newspaper of the worker trade unions, VIATA MUNCITOARE, in 1927 excerpted all the conclusions demanded by the following event, related and commented on ironically: "Who does not know that the greatest patriot, the bigger "Jew" eater in the country is Mr Stelian Popescu, minister of justice and owner of the UNIVERSUL newspaper"? In the 1914-1916 period, during the neutrality which was so fruitful for some people, Mr Stelian Popescu's nationalism flung itself between the German marks and tsarist rubles. The politician had risen up about the 'patriot.' Today is another occasion to once again uncover the true feelings of the owner of UNIVERSAL. Before the iron solidarity of the workers who are typographers, employers, helping each other, decided to do the work of the shops from which the workers had left in the shops where there were no strikes. Mr Stelian Popescu, the "Jew" eater chose the Socec shop, whose employers are Mrs Schwartz and Saraga. He forced six workers from his shop to go to work in the shops of Mrs Schwartz and Saraga, where the strike is. The workers refused, and Mr Stelian Popescu conceded to them, for which reason the majority of workers left their jobs. As a result, Mr Stelian Popescu's anti-Semitism immediately was destroyed as soon as the employer interests of Mrs Schwartz and Saraga were touched. This is new proof that the employers, regardless of religion or nationality, are united in defeating any attempt to improve the fate of workers of all nationalities. From this, all workers of all nationalities should see that their interest is to closely unite in order to defend their interests against the appetite for gain of all the employers of all nationalities" (the article entitled "The Nationalism of the Employers," VIATA MUNCITOARE IV, No 15, 4 September 1927, p 1). As a result, to consider--as Z. Ornea does--that the nationalism and anti-Semitism in the interwar Romania have their origin in the race dispute (p 372 and following pages) goes against our historical reality. This same magazine, in the same issue, publishes on page 2 a broad description of the attempts the

employers were making to mutually help each other, regarding the idea of nationality. The workers' magazine, as the phenomenon was in full progress, was drawing conclusions that were superior through objectivity, clarity and good feeling regarding those which Z. Ornea reached. This is the elegant conclusion of VIATA MUNCITOARE: "What should be remembered here is not only the fact that the employers are aiding each other but that Mr Stelian Popescu's anti-Semitism, which is helping the Socec Jewish employers against the Romanian workers, is a farce by which he is trying to mix up the masses' minds." None of this is in Z. Ornea's vision, which derives social-economic contradictions from philosophical-aesthetic ones, arriving at the point of practicing the spiritualism he is trying to avoid under the mantle of a "complex" analysis.

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ROMANIA

DISCUSSION OF EVOLUTION OF DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE CONTINUED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 4, 20 Feb 82 pp 31-34

/Discussion by Reader Dr Alexandru Ciora, Bucharest Polytechnic Institute, Reader Dr Virgil Constantinescu, Bucharest University, Alecu Floares, secretary of the Iasi County Party Committee, Maria Fulea, Bucharest Sociological Research Center, Grigore Lucut, Bucharest Sociological Research Center, Reader Dr Laurentiu Pop, Cluj-Napoca Babes-Bolyai University, and Prof Dr Vladimir Trebici, recorded by Ion Iuga and Ion Stanescu/

/Text/ We are publishing an abridgment of the second part of the discussion on "Evolution of the Demographic and Social Structure in Romania" organized by the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy and the journal ERA SOCIALISTA. The first part of the discussion appeared in No 3, 1982 of the journal.

VLADIMIR TREBICI: I want to talk about some aspects of the demographic structure in close connection with the fact that it is the socioeconomic characteristics that have changed essentially in the course of one generation, considering the interval between generations to be 30 years. Between the 1948 census and 1 January 1981 Romania's population increased by 6.4 million persons, or about 200,000 a year. It is sociologically significant that 60 percent of the population as of 1 January 1981 were born after 23 August 1944. What is called the "educational stock" (number of years of schooling per person) increased considerably during this interval, and a corresponding qualitative index was doubled in the period. There were also improvements in urbanization. At present over half the Romanian population is living in cities compared with 23.4 percent in 1949.

The shift in distribution of the active population is interesting. The 1948 figures show that 80 percent of the active population was in the first sector, 9 percent in the second sector, and 11 percent in the third sector. The latest estimate, at the end of 1980, indicates that 30 percent of the total is employed in the first sector, 44 percent in the second sector, and 26 percent in the third sector.

The structural changes in the population according to age and sex indicate "demographic aging," a term introduced in the technical literature years ago with some disagreement. I know economists who refuse to accept the concept even today. To be sure it is a universal process, typical of the developed countries, consisting of

growth of the proportion of the old population from 60 years up accompanied by a decline in the young population (down to 14 years inclusive). On the macrodemographic level this process is reflected by the average and median ages. While the average age of the Romanian population was 26 in the 1912 census, it reached about 26.5 in 1930, 30 in 1948, 32.5 in 1966, and 33 in 1977. The proportion of the elderly population increased rapidly after 1956, so that the population aged 60 and above reached 14 percent in the 1977 census.

Spatial and social mobility on the level of a regional population is a factor that can obstruct, delay or even stop demographic aging. The fact that in the 1977 census only 40 percent of the population of Bucharest was born there is a graphic example of the proportions spatial mobility can take. Out of the population of 1,935,000 persons, a large part (581,000) came from Wallachia, 200,000 from Moldavia, 144,000 from Oltenia, and about 130,000 from Transylvania, Crisana, the Banat and Maramures taken together.

To return to the question of social mobility, I note that within the demographic structure there are some changes important to Romania's socioeconomic development. According to a very recently published reconstruction, the workers were 15 percent of the total active population in 1948, peasants with private farms were 76 percent, and intellectuals and office workers were 5.4 percent, but the subsequent evolution shows spectacular changes: Workers were 20 percent in 1956, 32.6 percent in 1966 and 50.4 percent in 1977. Cooperative farmers were 7.6 percent in 1956, 46 percent in 1966, and now amount to 25 percent of the active population, while the category of intellectuals and office workers has reached 14 percent. These figures apply to the active population. There are differences in the total population depending on how many children a worker has, how many an intellectual or peasant has, etc.

In the 1977 census the average age of workers was 34.5 years and that of cooperative farmers was about 44.

In industry the ratio between the sexes shows a high proportion of men, but the fact that the younger generations of women are better represented indicates that after 20 years there will be a balance not only by ages but also between the sexes. On the other hand a feminization process is found in agriculture, which was also mentioned in the introductory report, but there are some distortions and imbalances between the young and old age groups. The ratios are 100 men to 155 women aged 15-20 years, 100 men to 183 women aged 35-40 years, and 100 men to 195 women aged 55-60 years.

Leveling was mentioned in the introductory report of the discussion. Of course this problem should be discussed with more deliberation. The studies show that a leveling is taking place as well as a shift of the cultural submodels, and the migration is influencing attitudes and behavior in a number of ways.

But because of the very intensive demographic inertia, it takes 30-40-50 years and more to change the demographic structures, as well as special measures having to do with demographic policy. On the other hand the social as well as the economic structures are changed more readily because of the effects of economic strategy. I suggest that we consider such problems as migration, the rural and urban populations, the social categories, self-reproduction of the social classes and categories, etc. in greater detail in our future discussions.

ALECU FLOARES: I find Vladimir Trebici's comments on the demographic phenomenon in Romania interesting and very significant.

Several years ago in Iasi County an interdisciplinary committee sponsored by the Academy of Social and Political Sciences prepared an optimal model of regional socioeconomic development. A first stage covered the levels of 1985 and the prospects up to the end of the present decade. Efforts are now being made to extend the project in depth as far as the years 2000-2010.

Analysis of the correlations and restrictions between the evolution of the economy and that of the population and its structure on the regional and county levels has a distinct place in the subject matter and the system of indicators. The conclusions drawn so far are based on comparative studies of the evolution of the characteristic regional processes and phenomena and that of the national ones according to the data from the field and the technical literature, the microregional analyses on the levels of the uniform agroindustrial councils and the areas of mutual urban and rural influence, and the statistical records on commuting and instability and the natural increase and migration of the population.

In Iasi Country the evolutionary trends of the demographic indicators are similar to the evolution on the national level. Meanwhile a number of distinctions are made that are largely determined by the distinctive characteristics of the region. In the first place I note that the years following the victory of the revolution for social and national liberation, and especially the last two decades, have been marked by an extensive process of industrialization, the extent of this process being convincingly expressed by the fact that the output in 1981 was about 2 times greater than that of all Romania in 1938. But nearly all of the industrial output (over 85 percent) is produced in Iasi municipality, and the rest of the localities (except Pascani city) are still almost entirely agrarian. Not one of the enterprises in Iasi has a complete economic cycle, and they all depend on suppliers and beneficiaries in other counties or on the foreign market. For the most part they perform operations on a relatively low technical level (generally assembly operations) on the basis of components and assemblies of high technical precision manufactured in units outside the county.

As we know Iasi has a varied and valuable potential for scientific and technological research employing over 2,000 persons and realizing annually a contract value of about 500 million lei. The Romascon unit for machine tools in Vrancea County, the one for fans in Vaslui County, the one for tool sets in Botosani County etc. were built on the basis of Iasi studies. Spectacular results have been obtained in the field of macromolecular polymers, applied in Bacau, Neamt and Brasov counties and in obtaining robots with four degrees of difficulty, assimilated mostly in Bucharest.

Application of the new economic mechanism and promotion of the net output as the basic indicator have changed the thinking and action of the enterprise managements and the decision-making organs in this field too.

Another characteristic has to do with agriculture, a basic economic sector wherein, to be sure, progress has been made. But let us note that 20 percent of the agricultural area is subject to floods and over 60 percent of it to advanced erosion processes. Due to these conditions, the shortage of water and its uneven distribution during precipitations, as well as failure to promote suitable technologies, the agricultural cooperatives' average yields are below those of other areas and of the national economy as a whole.

As it has been said here, Iasi County's population is characterized by demographic youth. The fact is convincing that out of 755,000 inhabitants recorded in 1980 some 225,000 are in kindergartens and schools and 30,000 are students, so that the school population amounts to one-third, unlike any other county of Romania. Moreover the average age of the working class in Iasi County is not over 30 years because the new jobs are filled mostly with young personnel.

As for the methodology of demographic research, I think the methods and techniques for determining regional population must be reviewed. Besides extrapolation of the recorded levels of fertility, the birth rate, the death rate and the extent of migration, which cannot be considered unilaterally, much more realistic correction coefficients are required, along with abandonment of the principle that the population trends can be estimated only over a long range. The central organs for forecasting and planning must make greater allowance for regional characteristics in locating the new economic capacities, considering the real evolution of the manpower resources and the structure and growth trends of the active population.

Our studies also provide other figures on the proportion of the actually employed population of the county, which amounts to 310,000 persons or only 75 percent of the active population. Out of the total employed population about 100,000 persons are working in agriculture, for an average of only 77 working days. About 102 days are worked per year (or one-third of the available time) if we add to this the activity on plots in use and on private farms.

GRIGORE LUCUT: There is no question that there are relations of interdependence between population growth and economic development, but those relations are highly complex. It is very difficult to modify them, and the laws are very difficult to understand. Actually we must do more in this field with demographic projections and not with forecasts in the true sense of the word, which are unilateral (limited) because they take account of one factor alone (fertility or birth rate) and not of the combined effect of a series of factors (birth rate, industrialization, urbanization, instruction, education, or rise of the cultural level and living standard), for which reason the economic and demographic (demo-economic) theories are very circumspect, especially when we realize that in this field decisions are irreversible and as a rule the effects and errors cannot be corrected or compensated for.

An active demographic policy is necessary when imbalances (in the population, between the population and the natural resources, or in the economic necessities), that is rapid changes, occur like the demographic "explosion" in some underdeveloped countries due to improved medical care (lowered death rate) superimposed upon an unsatisfactory (in level and growth rate) economic development.

On the other hand any population will reach in its evolution an end point of stable population, a fact which has as its corollary a balance of the age groups and a growing proportion of the older age groups, which is called demographic aging and which has been emphasized in this discussion. It is a natural evolution and does not impugn the "vitality" of the population or the nation. The main objectionable effects (consequences) are the decreasing labor resources and indices of the population's activity and the increasing indices of economic dependence. But it is to be expected that the indices of economic dependence, namely the ratios of the population too young to work (0-15 years) and that over 60 years to the demo-economic population, will go up, while the indices of the population's activity (ratio between the population that is working and the total population) will go down, so that an individual's social burdens will be increased.

The theory that rapid population growth is a controlling factor in development is far from generally accepted. In any case it must be correlated with the natural conditions (extent of natural resources), the financial resources, the historical stage, the level of economic development, etc. and furthermore the conclusion must be viewed with even greater caution when we consider that many (developed) states have achieved economic growth with a declining growth rate of the population, and that too over long periods of time. Very few of the states confronted with a rapid population growth have been able to achieve a satisfactory economic development (faster than that of the population) because, among other things, the costs of supporting a child and qualifying a youth for employment are much higher than in the previous periods. Under these circumstances greater efforts are required in order to bring about intensive economic development and the planned improvement of the welfare and growth of the population all at the same time, to say nothing of overtaxing the health network (specialized) and the school and preschool systems, the disease and death rates, and other factors as well.

ALEXANDRU CIORA: I should like to bring up some aspects of the social structure of the rural population, which has been changed under socialism by the creation and development of the technical-material base of socialism. Under the influence of the new production relations a new social class appeared, the cooperative farmers, whose economic and social-political traits have developed in the same direction as those of the working class, helping to intensify the leveling process throughout society. Some new traits of this class are emerging more and more clearly because of the improvement of socialist relations in production, distribution, exchange and consumption and in social organization and management, the growing cooperation between the state and cooperative sectors, intensified socialist democracy, use of the institutionalized democratic framework, and involvement of all workers in social management. Ignoring those new traits could have perpetuated some forms of agricultural organization and management that would not sufficiently encourage social development. Introduction of an organizational system with the obligation to work for a number of hours a day and guaranteed incomes according to the norms met by that participation will better determine the quality of a cooperative member.

Development of the material base of agriculture has made and will continue to make changes in the labor resources, in the way they are used, and in personnel training. It is a very important and urgent problem. In speaking of this aspect I wish to point out first that the number of personnel with secondary and higher education has increased, but it is a fact that there are more specialists with higher education than those with secondary education in agriculture, while the reverse is true in all other economic sectors. I do not think agriculture can be an exception to the general rule that there should be several specialists with secondary education to every specialist with higher education.

The unsatisfactory economic results obtained by some agricultural cooperatives directly depend upon their use of labor resources, and this phenomenon must be carefully analyzed. The existing data show that the labor force in agricultural cooperatives has undergone considerable changes. The population employed in these units decreased along with the decline in the population employed in agriculture.

Development of the technical base of agriculture and introduction of large-scale mechanization, chemization and electrification of production lead to professionalization and specialization of the agricultural worker. By its very nature, transformation of agricultural labor to a variant of industrial labor involves transformation of the agricultural worker to a worker with industrial characteristics.

VIRGIL CONSTANTINESCU: In social-political works and in discussions I have attended that were organized by various educational and research institutions, the opinions regularly gravitated around the quantitative or predominantly qualitative aspects, while the qualitative questions of the social structures were treated only indirectly.

The problem in the field of evolution of the population employed in agriculture that Ciora took up here and my studies in several rural localities in various areas of Romania have convinced me that there is not only an alarming process of aging and feminizing of the labor force, which has been mentioned in this discussion, but also one of negative selection of future agricultural workers in the form of the end choice of occupations in this field. These conclusions are based on study of the choices of occupation made by graduates of some general schools in rural areas and also on further investigation at some agroindustrial high schools also in various areas of the country. Some of the results of the investigation have been published in some separate studies.

Among the correlations made between indices or indicators of the subject, I also used the one between scholastic performance and choice (or rejection) of agroindustrial occupations on the part of the subjects. The assembled data as well as the content analysis I made indicated an attitude of rejection of possible specialization in any of the agroindustrial occupations on the part of the graduating classes of the rural schools that I investigated. Not one of the prize winners of the investigated schools stayed on to work in agriculture or attended agroindustrial trade schools or high schools.

The pupils who answered the questionnaire gave lower marks in moral prestige to the agricultural occupations. Many of those questioned regarded the status of an agricultural worker as equivalent to that of a man incapable of rising socially and consequently a status undesirable for a general school graduate, who is offered many kinds of professional qualification.

ALECU FLOARES: The problems of the changes in the social structure within some social categories, in addition to the changes in attitude, have the most diverse implications. For one thing, the population of Iasi city has increased by more than 3,5 times under socialism and now comes to 350,000 inhabitants. But when we examine the situation more closely we can see that two-thirds of the specialists working in agriculture, 75 percent of the teachers, 90 percent of the medical personnel and over 50 percent of the office workers functioning in rural areas became city dwellers with no sound economic explanation.

About 35,000 persons are now on various commuting routes, half of whom spend one-third of their lives on transportation means, with bad effects upon their productivity at work, the state of their health and the level of their education.

Spatial mobility has been accompanied by extensive changes in the social structure, in the sense of a numerical increase in working personnel and accordingly in the working class, and by an annual gain in the number of intellectuals and a considerable reduction of the peasantry.

There have been real changes in occupational mobility. About two decades ago there was a spectacular increase in the number and kinds of trades. In recent years there has been a tendency to concentrate and stabilize them. Continued industrialization requires a better combination of the economic and social requirements. Under these

circumstances the new capacities should be located in the underindustrialized areas with surplus labor forces.

Stabilization of part of the population and consequently of a rural labor force in a suitable age and sex structure (a subject taken up by Virgil Constantinescu) depends upon intensified industrialization of agriculture. I think that is the only way incomes from agriculture can be increased, the material incentive improved, and the fertile potential of the soil enhanced. But in Iasi County's agriculture improvement of the fertile potential requires a greater volume of investments for extensive projects for land improvement and control of erosion and floods, an increased technical inventory, and a supply of seeds and livestock breeds with high biological potentials.

Research in the social sciences can and must be correlated more boldly with practical activity if this purpose is to be served, it must understand the mechanics of the current processes and phenomena, exploit the laws that govern them, and provide alternative solutions.

Leveling was discussed in the introductory report, and Comrade Trebici expressed the opinion that the problem must be examined with more deliberation. I shall also try to contribute some ideas to the discussion.

As we know in a socialist society the leveling process is stimulated both by objective factors, having to do with the evolution, structure, developmental level and technical standard of the production means, and by subjective factors pertaining particularly to the levels of knowledge and awareness, degree of instruction and education, and people's capacity to interpret the "movement" of the social processes and phenomena. Social leveling is based on the process of economic leveling, stimulated in Romania by the measures for rational geographic distribution of the productive forces and for bringing every area up to an intensive activity.

In the Iasi area analysis of the leveling process makes use of a fact that could apply to all areas of Romania, namely that the years of socialist construction have been marked by the numerical and qualitative growth of the working class, the increasing development of the intelligentsia, and the reduction in the numbers of the peasantry. The analyses made show that 84 percent of the present workers are former peasants or sons of peasants who passed qualification courses on the job or graduated from trade schools, technical schools, industrial or theoretical high schools, or postgraduate educational units. The educational stock, that is the number of years of schooling per worker, was 3 times greater in 1980 than in 1950. Thanks to the intensified technical equipment of labor and improved instruction and qualification, the created values and the productivity per worker increased by more than 10 times in the same period. Though uniform in its relation to the production means and in its capacity as owner, producer and beneficiary of the created goods, the working class in this area differs in technical qualifications, degree of instruction and education, contribution to the national income, and salary level from one sector to another and from one enterprise to another within the sectors.

In the last two decades especially, the peasantry has shown a regular reduction in numbers and a qualitative change but also a trend toward aging and feminization, points brought up in our discussion. The qualitative change is apparent not only in the new relation to the production means and the new organization of production and labor, but also in the higher level of instruction and information and some differentiation and specialization in fields.

The intelligentsia of Iasi County, more numerous than in other counties by far, has now been largely raised and educated under socialism, being a product of the rise to culture of the sons of urban and rural workers. The intelligentsia shows some differentiation, due particularly to the nature of the profession and the job. Accordingly we distinguish the technical intelligentsia, working mostly in the production sections and design shops in close proximity to and under the direct influence of the working class, and a large number of intellectuals working in research, including some noteworthy scientists. The atmosphere of creative work and competition wherein the intelligentsia labors recommends this social category as an active participant in the revolutionary process of Romanian society.

These basic social classes and categories display a mobility from one category to another that helps to develop and intensify the leveling process.

LAURENTIU POP: In his treatment of the phenomenon of leveling, Comrade Floares brought up the growing role of the intelligentsia. I think this ground has been too little explored in the technical literature, and often only in a general way. In addition to the increased proportion of the intelligentsia in the social structure, changes are now taking place in its own structure. Some qualifications could be made in this connection about the provenience of some categories of intellectuals directly from the working class, through schooling and experience, who have a double status as workers and intellectuals. This phenomenon is developing particularly within the technical intelligentsia.

Study of the position and role of the intelligentsia in the present stage has several aspects, including amplification of its functions and obligations and its rapprochement with the working class not only through development of competition on the job but also in the sense of the spread of the latter's traits to all society.

From the professional standpoint, the treatment of the problem cannot evade the phenomenon of coordination and combination of intellectual with physical work. This aspect undoubtedly has many social-political implications. It must be pointed out here that the intelligentsia performs its creative role in science, technology and culture not only together with the working class and the masses of workers but also according to their standards.

In the effort to determine the youths' opinion (influenced of course by families and schools) to some extent about the prestige enjoyed by some intellectual professions, we organized an opinion poll on the subject of "The Conception of Work and Life" in four schools in Cluj-Napoca municipality, with a sampling of 600 pupils in a first stage (1977). In 1980 we repeated the poll in the same schools in a second stage. While in 1977 we recorded a great many preferences for research professions (46.9 percent), in 1980 the number of the choices became rational (19 percent). In both stages there was a low percentage for the executive intellectual jobs compared with the research and management jobs (10 percent in 1977 and 26 percent in 1980). The pupils' options for professions involving physical work showed an appreciable gain over the said period (9.8 percent in 1977 and 26 percent in 1980). These few approximate data give an indication of the process of change in the youths' attitudes toward selection of professions.

Humanizing labor, that is gradually eliminating "fragmentation of the total man" caused by division of work into physical and intellectual work, restriction of the

routine character of intellectual and physical work, achievement of an organic tie between knowledge, convictions and attitudes, and confirmation of the masses' experience are factors for humanizing the intellectual's status in Romanian society. The intelligentsia has a heavy responsibility for assimilating information and eliminating phenomena like misinterpretation of facts, incorrect deductions from scientific data, and communication of information of no better quality than the audience's information.

Further integration of the intelligentsia in the productive procedure is part of the process of equalizing physical and intellectual work and of leveling, about which Comrades Dragan, Trebici and Floares have spoken here. Imbuing the intelligentsia with the working class traits enhances its social functions and consolidates their alliance.

VIRGIL CONSTANTINESCU: Along with the processes of industrialization and urban expansion, which intensify the social division of labor, the surpluses for use of the demographic excess in the rural areas are multiplied. Meanwhile cooperativization of agriculture as well as modernization of the first sector's equipment made a large volume of rural manpower available to the other economic sectors and caused a massive shift of workers from the villages to the cities.

Some of these workers made their homes in the cities and, abandoning agricultural production and shaking off the influence of rural culture, became urbanized. But there are a great many persons who work in industrial enterprises or units of the third sector but reside in rural communities and perform activities of an agrarian nature in the time they have left, continuing to enjoy the advantages of family management and remaining holders of private property. For those persons work in the first sector is still a certain source of real incomes and a sure means of gain, as a useful addition to the possibilities for family subsistence and a necessity for some budgetary savings.

But the same persons also perform jobs in industrial units, under the influence of a system of technicized relations that imposes another behavioral structure and another frame of reference upon them, in addition to the pressure of urban culture and the influence of the "artificial" environment in cities, which affects their conduct and essentially changes their characteristic behavior. In one way or another they live two different lives in succession and juxtapose different cultural environments without assimilating either of them entirely. They divorce themselves from the context of the local structures within which they were traditionally placed and from the social class to which they belonged before industrialization, but they are not fully integrated in the working class either.

But in view of the relatively advanced age of those in this group and the fact that they have been agricultural workers for a long time, they are more peasants than industrial workers, with traits characteristic of the rural world and still identified with its frames of reference.

But for the immediate future a considerable increase is expected in the number of industrial workers graduating from full-course trade schools who are young. With a specialized training acquired in the industrial school system and being educated in a predominantly "plant" spirit, they will still live in villages but will be less inclined to perform activities in the first sector. They no longer depend upon economic management of the family type, producing goods for self-consumption by their own resources instead of buying agricultural food products on the market.

MARIA FULEA: The social structure includes the representative forms of the social organization in its entirety (types of organization, social environments, macrogroups and microgroups) and their positions in the hierarchy of institutionalized values.

I am not going to discuss here the social, economic and political macroprocesses that have favored and determined the dynamism and extent of the changes in the social structure of the rural population. I shall only point out the rapid rate and impressive proportions of the occupational mobility (of a rising linear type) of the rural population as all areas of Romania are industrialized. The sociological studies that have been made tell us that in general the active population in the rural communities is characterized by an extensive process of occupational mobility corresponding to the social demand for a skilled labor force. For Vaslui County, where I made the sociological study, occupational mobility has usually been of a rising kind but with limited transitional stages.

The presence in the rural communities of the considerable number of working personnel employed in nonagrarian sectors or in state agriculture has caused changes in the social structure of the rural family and household. The demographic size of the household is smaller for households of the agrarian type and larger for those of the mixed and nonagrarian type. The mixed and nonagrarian families are generally composed of nuclei consisting of three or more persons. In this connection I also mention that the increased state allowance for children, among other things, is one of the important causes of the migration of labor resources out of agricultural cooperatives.

The accelerated industrial development of the counties of Romania and the placement and diversification of enterprises in all urban centers have increased the demand for manpower, especially that recruited from rural areas and the agricultural cooperatives. The existence, especially in the previous periods, of some lag in the industrial development of the various areas of the country intensified the migratory movement of the population. We are now seeing a process of progressive reduction of the volume of intercounty migration, with change of residence, and consequently one of maintained and intensified migratory movement within counties, either with or without change of residence. As a direct result of the higher rate of industrialization of the urban areas and centers that used to show a lag in this priority indicator, we have recently seen a process of "remigration" which is a favorable factor for improvement of the quality of the manpower reserve.

Spatial mobility, with or without change of residence, applies to both the male and female labor forces and represents a qualitative leap in the economic, social and political position of working women in our era. The proportion of female working personnel coming from rural areas is gaining steadily.

In the great majority of cases, with the exception of the floating and seasonal type of migratory movement, geographic mobility has meant a rising shift in the occupational status of the respective population.

The process of "movement" of the population through various "states" (origin, education, status) expresses the interdependence between base and superstructure (political, educational and legal) and to a great extent reflects the connection between social existence and social awareness.

What characterizes the Romanian population is its intensive social mobility and pronounced shifting among social categories, groups and classes, a "movement" determined

by the qualitatively superior educational and social status. Study of social mobility brings out the relationship between educational and occupational mobility. The future quality of the labor force in Romanian agriculture in correlation with the superior educational and occupational status heavily depends upon intensive knowledge and modification of those processes.

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ROMANIA

ATTITUDE OF YOUTH TOWARD RELIGION REVEALED IN SURVEY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 4, 20 Feb 82 pp 26-27

/Article by Aurel Olaru, secretary of the Bacau Municipal Party Committee, and Gheorghe Dumitru, sociologist at the Bacau Institute of Higher Education: "Sociological Study of Ways and Means of Scientific-Materialist Education"/

/Text/ As both a social reality and a subjective state, the religious phenomenon is the result of the particular interaction between the individual, the social group and the environment, being a distorted reflection of material reality and social existence based on the erroneous belief that the appearance and development of the natural, social and human processes are the result of the action of a supernatural, transcendental power. As experience shows, religion still retains its capacity to influence the individual and group consciousness to some extent in the present developmental stage of socialist society. The causes of this persistence include incomplete satisfaction of some material and intellectual needs, the conservative capacity characteristic of religious tradition, customs and practices, some gaps in family and school education, and the inefficiency of some collectives and professional media of scientific-materialist and atheist propaganda. It is characteristic of Romania today that the influence and extent of religion is being gradually restricted in the social-occupational categories of workers thanks to the objective social conditions that have been created as well as knowledge and purposeful consideration, in the interest of the individual, of the objective laws operative in society, nature and thought. But the disappearance of religion as a social, psychosocial and individual phenomenon is a long process that will be accomplished, as Marx said "when the relations of actual daily experience will be clear and rational relations among people and between people and nature" (1).

Political-educational efforts to reform mystical-religious attitudes and behavior on the individual or group level as well as throughout society call for proper understanding and scientific explanation of the social and natural phenomena and knowledge of the causes and factors that determine them as well as the objective or subjective conditions under which they appear or persist and their processual evolution is changed. The party and state, while respecting every individual's freedom of conscience, make a sustained political and cultural-educational effort "to eradicate the remnants of the past and backward ideas, attitudes, customs and habits from people's consciousness" (2) in order to free them of mystical-religious ideas and practices and to achieve true freedom and dignity in social and individual experience. The effort to

form the new socialist consciousness allows for the persistence of unscientific ideas and behavior in some categories of people, which obstructs their full development and progress and their active participation in national social-political affairs.

Mastery of the historical and dialectical-materialist conception, formation of atheist convictions and elimination of religious ideas, feelings and attitudes is a long and complicated process requiring competence, tact and scientific ways and means of scientific-materialist education. Regardless of profession or occupation, education of youth must be suited to the psychosocial characteristics of the groups to which they belong or are referred, their individual characteristics and those of their age, and their levels of understanding and instruction, while routine and uninteresting educational activities must be eliminated.

In the light of those considerations as well as experience with atheist education of youth, the Bacau Municipal Party Committee made a psychosociological study to determine the social and individual manifestations of religious belief in various social-occupational categories of youths in some enterprises and institutions in Bacau municipality. The fact was also considered that the exodus of youths graduating from gymnasium and high-school education in the villages to the cities sometimes brings on an individual psychological state susceptible to mystical-religious influences in the not untroubled process of social-occupational integration and of adjustment to the new conditions of work, study, housing and use of leisure time.

The hypotheses of our study allowed for a declining religious trend from the cognitive, emotional and behavioral standpoints due to the objective conditions in the social, family, school and occupational microgroups in which the youths are brought up. We also proceeded from the finding that the preschool and younger school ages are usually the periods of most intensive religious influence in the individual's life due to the persistence of tradition, the influence of the family environment, the practices of the religious institutions, and the educational deficiencies of the social-cultural factors and the particular psychological makeup of a given subject individual in the stage of forming his convictions and general image of the world. Under the present circumstances the main role in the whole educational process of changing the state of religious belief and instilling the atheist attitude in youth is played by the purposeful factor and the interactions between the individual, the group and society as a whole and between individual values and the values society is promoting by means of the forms of political-educational activity.

On the basis of those hypotheses, we made it the direct aim of our study to determine and identify the religious phenomenon and the state of religious belief in various categories of youth according to certain objective variables (sex, age, occupation, school training, civil status, political affiliation, background etc.), to determine the content and intensity of the religious phenomenon, and to present the dynamics of the formation, evolution and reform of religious belief as well as the methods of forming the scientific-materialist attitude.

The methodology of the study involves two uniform and interdependent principles, one having to do with the general conception of the reality of the religious phenomenon, dialectical and historical materialism, and the other with the scientific methods of determining and analyzing this particular reality of sociology and social psychology. We tried to determine the attitudes, feelings and behavior of youths upon the occasions of religious events in the social and personal experience. Use of a questionnaire provided us with information and opinions about the elements and content of

religious belief and an opportunity to determine the intensity and scope of the religious phenomenon empirically. Those data were supplemented and enhanced by the methods of social biography and conversation to bring out and determine the psychological, psychosocial and social-cultural elements of individual and collective religious belief and the reasons for religious conversion.

The classified sampling for psychosocial investigation consisted of 253 subjects, including 115 workers, 14 pupils, 10 students, 30 intellectuals and four other categories. The field study was made in July 1981, with the aid of social science teachers, in the following socioeconomic units: the Metallurgical Enterprise, the garment and machine tool enterprises, the County Planning Institute, the Regional Electronic Computer Center, the Institute of Higher Education, Industrial High School No 2, Vasile Alecsandri High School, the Pedagogic High School, and the Tailors Art Cooperative.

We present below the most significant data obtained from analysis of the results of the investigation. It should be pointed out that whenever the questionnaires were filled out and the social biographies were written, special emphasis was placed upon preliminary preparation of the subjects, who were asked to be as frank as possible in their replies and in their statements and opinions. Then their opinions were compared with some objective data, with the actual findings from observation, and with the processing of the raw data.

As to the real religious beliefs of the subjects of the sampling, it was found that both those coming from urban, suburban and rural environments and those belonging to political and public organizations do not believe in supernatural powers or have religious convictions but are accustomed to occasional participation in certain rituals (baptisms, weddings, funerals etc.) because of tradition, custom and the urgings of parents, relatives, friends and colleagues.

Most of the youths have vague ideas and knowledge of mystical-religious phenomena and do not know their nature. But some have a definite idea of the nature and content of religion and are convinced, as they state, that they are "false dogmas," "supernatural phenomena," "man's imaginings" and "scientific and social nonvalues." But we have two replies on record to the effect that religion is "a natural and universal phenomenon" and "an innate tie between the divine structure and the biological structure of man."

From the emotional standpoint, the subjects of the sampling were in very different emotional states during the religious event they were experiencing, namely humility, indifference, boredom, sadness, admiration, piety and fear. The religious and cult events and practices in which some of the youths in the sampling participate are occasioned by deaths, baptisms, marriages, name days and religious holidays because as they say they are traditional and customary, and again, they wish to humor their parents, relatives, colleagues and friends.

In the cases of the youths who answered our questionnaire, the particular experiences resulting in contact and appeal to mystical ideas and practices or superstitions are death of someone close to them, fear of remaining single after a certain age, chronic and incurable diseases, prolonged periods of solitude and isolation, repeated failures and setbacks, heavy pressure from parents with such religious beliefs, etc. Difficult activities and tasks arousing feelings of distrust in their own abilities (whether occupational, personal or social-human) in the youths which they do not understand and cannot resolve alone, as well as job difficulties, misunderstandings

with bosses, key examinations, disappointments in love, and confused and irrational relations between individuals are some of the reported experiences arousing feelings of alienation, isolation and mystical-religious fetishism.

According to the subjects' accounts, unfulfilled personal aspirations are either material (need of a dwelling, a car, etc.) or spiritual-cultural (aspiration to take courses in the desired high-school and higher education or to advance professionally).

The social, political, cultural and educational institutions of which the subjects generally demand more material and spiritual aid are primarily the family, schools, cultural homes, managements of the socioeconomic units, party, UTC /Union of Communist Youth/ and trade-union organizations, health units and mass media. Important events in the youths' lives and activities such as admission to the UTC, coming of age, birthdays, school graduation, hiring in production, etc., if they are not formally and festively celebrated, sometimes make them feel apathetic, dissatisfied and personally useless to the community and also cause attitudes of indifference, suspicion and refuge in an illusory compensatory world. Perpetuation and proper performance of actions like those we mentioned with a high educational value to the individual and microgroup can help to encourage morale and to develop confidence in their own powers and in colleagues, and they can create personal satisfactions and feelings of usefulness to the community and enhance unity and cohesion among the members of the group as well as their capacity for self-esteem, communication and mutual understanding.

Most often the reasons the investigated youths resorted to mystical-religious ideas, feelings and practices were influence of parents, believers and religious institutions, poor scientific and cultural-educational preparation of the respective youths aggravated by the power of tradition, inability to understand social, natural and human phenomena correctly, lack of confidence in their own powers and in the members of the community, lack of prompt satisfaction of legitimate needs, and lack of moral and psychological support from the family, the group and the social-cultural environment.

In 70 percent of the cases the youths came in contact with mystical-religious beliefs in the preschool period (ages of three to seven) before attending the courses in elementary education, while the others came to know those phenomena in the lower grades (ages of 7-12). In 67 percent of the cases in the sampling contact with the religious phenomenon was through the intermediary of parents and grandparents. But the process of religious influencing continued after that period of the child's age and mental development until intellectual-cognitive, emotional and behavioral maturity was reached.

Analysis of the other subjective explanations or causes of the tendency toward religious conversion (including traditions and customs, individual mental-behavior structure, fear of the unknown and educational deficiencies) indicates that most of the reasons are outside the individual and due to the impact of the family, cultural and social environments. During participation in religious activities they were indoctrinated with the idea that there is a divine, supernatural power that requires certain practices in individual behavior and in relations with others.

In the discussions that were held the youths said that the religious ideas and practices did not help them with any particular problem in their lives (46 percent). The proportion of youths who read religious books is very low (4.2 percent). Most of the subjects stated that they abandoned mystic and religious attitudes and ideas once they mastered the scientific disciplines and learned the human, social and natural

realities through individual study, school, experience and research. Realizing the harmful and irrational character of those ideas, the youths feel the main role in the effort to restrict and eliminate mystical-religious beliefs is to be played by the respective individual, but also by the group, the parents, the teachers and the party and youth organizations.

According to the investigated youths' statements, the best organizational forms to help them understand and scientifically interpret the phenomena in nature, society and thought are the educational process, the experience of the oldest, the technical-scientific circles, and the individual and collective discussions, in that order. But the youths' participation in the technical, scientific, atheist, artistic and other circles is limited because they spend more of their spare time with their families or in visiting parents, relatives or friends. The youths (pupils, students, workers and intellectuals) are particularly interested by modern audiovisual means (cinema, TV, radio, slides, diagrams, and magnetic tapes), which are highly effective in the educational process and in teaching and explaining material and mental reality.

The results of the study show that among the means of youth's scientific-materialist education special emphasis should be placed on school instruction and the choice of teaching aids and educational methods and means, which should follow the pedagogical and psychological principles of teaching and forming scientific-materialist convictions. There is also a need of more consistent social and psychological assistance from the families, schools, party, trade-union and UTC organizations, cultural institutions, and the managers of every work place in order to satisfy the youths' real and legitimate needs as far as possible, as well as a regular effort to help them understand the problems in their experience and activity.

We think greater efforts are required to improve the psychosocial climate in the working, studying, spare time, recreational and residential groups in order to facilitate mutual acquaintance, understanding and help in the youths' individual relationships.

Educational experience and the results of the studies also made in other areas of Romania show that any program for scientific-materialist education of youth must be regularly organized on the basis of scientific methods suited to the characteristics of the individual and his age, the state of religious belief, and the group characteristics. Previous efforts as well as the replies of many youths to our survey indicate that the most effective and appropriate methods are exchange of experience, individual and collective discussions, scientific explanations, round tables, case studies, individual studies, group discussions and only then the expositions etc. TV, radio, newspapers, cinemas, phonograph records and magnetic tapes are among the most effective educational ways and means, especially for forming scientific-materialist convictions. More extensive and differentiated use of modern communications means enhances the educational effect of the scientific-technical circles, symposiums and the educational process. They are unquestionably forms that can be further exploited in the procedure of instructing and educating the young generation.

We proceed from the premise that scientific-materialist instruction and education of youth is no temporary or occasional effort but a regular one that must be supplemented by political, intellectual, moral and aesthetic indoctrination in order to form the new and fully developed man with a broad general cultural and specialized background.

YUGOSLAVIA

YOUTH PERIODICALS RIDICULE OFFICIAL'S STATEMENTS

Forum at Student Center

Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian 14 Apr 82 p 7

[Commentary by Pero Jojic: "No, We Won't Do It That Way"]

[Text] The "Student Town" cultural center has a fine old tradition of organizing forums at which well-known public and cultural figures participate. Although these forums are well attended, students often obtain very little of what they expected. Talks are often generalized, and subjects so familiar and chewed upon, that there is no point in discussing them in detail. However, there are also very acute issues that deserve attention yet do not fulfill expectations.

Such was again the case in this instance. The students' guest was Sime Kronja, LCY CC deputy executive secretary and chairman of the SAWPY Federal Conference's council for the press, radio, and television; a guest of whom much was expected, and rightly so. The topics, at least, were extremely interesting for students: reporting from Kosovo, the problems of the youth press, and certain disputed interviews. In our opinion, the introductory remarks were lengthy and perhaps unnecessary (the political and economic situation in the world and in Yugoslavia is familiar and clear to all of us), resembling a political seminar for beginners, which--it must be admitted--most of us are not.

Questions in abundance were raised, but it is another matter whether the answers satisfied the questioners (of course, there were also questions that were irresponsibly phrased or shaded).

Comrade Kronja answered the majority of questions in a generalized and vague way, as though students could be "sold a pig in a poke." It therefore happened that the same students would reappear and pose the same questions, seeking a brief, clear response. As was to be expected, the most questions touched on the subject of Kosovo: why had Kosovo been a taboo topic for years (and some people might be trying to keep it that way), why had there been silence on the out-migration of Serbs and Montenegrins, why had reporting on the well-known events been untimely, etc. The answers given to these questions were familiar (the impression remained that Comrade Kronja had come to defend the stands adopted that day by the SAWPY information section, as though someone in the

hall were disputing them). Something new, which we had not known before, was not said (and perhaps does not exist). He tried to rephrase for us some articles in the daily papers, naturally not any disputed ones, so we are of the opinion that the cultural center might organize a retelling of the press every evening (we get the hint: they do not think that we read it).

To the question of whether taboo topics exist in our society, the answer was: "Taboo topics do not exist, but there are strictly confidential reports in the realm of defense, and as such they are necessary." Clearly, the defense mechanism has to exist, but we are of the opinion that prompt and truthful reporting in the best defense (how many times this has been repeated). Should the world press write about our problems while the Federal Assembly in Yugoslavia is crossing swords over whether to let some bit of news reach the public (the summit lacks confidence in the base).

Dissatisfied with the answers given, the students began to pose questions with remarks in a style probably learned from their professors: "you have evaded the question," "be specific," "come to the point." After these remarks had been made, the talk moved onto a slightly different path. The ensuing discussion was slightly more harsh, but also more useful in our opinion, on the part of both students and Comrade Kronja.

Let us say in conclusion that such forums are indisputably useful, but in a somewhat different form. We need no lectures. We ourselves are aware of all problems and difficulties and are prepared to solve them.

We are of the opinion that every guest is welcome in the student milieu, especially a guest who will be able to answer questions in a satisfactory manner--precisely, specifically, without evading the truth.

Remarks on Kosovo

Belgrade OMLADINSKE in Serbo-Croatian 17 Apr 82 p 2

[Open letter to Sime Kronja by Nenad Mincic: "History Does Not Tolerate an Embargo"]

[Text] Comrade Kronja:

A few days ago, at a meeting of the SAWPY information section, you declared (I cite from NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE of 11 April) that the phenomenon of out-migration from Kosovo ought to be viewed "in the context of the international process of migration from undeveloped south to developed north" and that "many Serbs and Montenegrins have relatives residing outside the province," so "their desire to join their kinfolk is entirely natural."

I am assuming that you are well acquainted with the Serbo-Croatian, or Croato-Serbian, language.

How, then, could you proclaim terrorism against the Serb and Montenegrin populations of Kosovo to be tourism and the natural inclination of the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo to creep closer to their kinfolk outside Kosovo?

Why are the highest governmental and party entities in the country concerning themselves with these "family moves?" Shouldn't the tourism of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo be the concern of the Tourist Federation of Serbia alone?

How, Comrade Kronja, could you refer to this massive, panicky flight on the part of two of our constituent peoples as internationalism?

Internationalism is presumably something else: for example, when the Yugoslav communists went off in 1936 to fight for the Spanish republic, to help the Spanish people oppressed by fascism! Internationalism, Comrade Kronja, is the present-day struggle of socialist Yugoslavia to see to it that the peoples of Africa, of Asia, of Europe, all around the world, are masters in their own house; that everyone lives in peace, secure and free, in his own house and under his own sky, regardless of ethnic, religious, or any other affiliation!

Are the Serb and Montenegrin populations in Kosovo provided with what we advocate for all the peoples of the world?

The Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo, Comrade Kronja, have been concerned with tourism for a long time, and seem to have been internationally inclined for an equally long time. How many of those unfortunates, inclined to adventurism, moved out under Carnojevic alone [at the end of the 17th century]? How many since Carnojevic? How many during the last war?

Nonetheless, the out-migration of the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo--or rather (as you think) their tourist travel--did not end with the Ottomans or the fascists. This international process is being brought to a conclusion for all practical purposes, in our own era, in freedom, in a socialist state!

History, Comrade Kronja, is an implacable judge. It overlooks no one, forgets nothing. No one, including you, can stamp an embargo on history.

I ask you: what will history say about the sorrowful fact that in a country in which a communist party is in power, and which passes for a worldwide model of ethnic equality, the Serb and Montenegrin populations from Kosovo had to abandon their hearths?

In just the last decade, more than 100,000 have run away!

Albanian irredentists and fascists drove those people out of Kosovo. Would that it were so that only tourism were in question and not the blackest terrorism, peacetime genocide against persons belonging to these two constituent peoples of ours!

These are not casual appraisals. These are appraisals expressed by delegates in the Assembly of Serbia, 10 days before you greeted and supported this international and tourist moving about!

You, Comrade Kronja, are apparently not bothered by the fact that the banishments from Kosovo have not been brought to a halt. You are bothered by writings on the subject: you even accused the press of "heating up the migration psychosis!"

Mirror, mirror on the wall! The crooked mirror, naturally, is at fault for everything. Accordingly: smash the mirror!

The main thing is to keep silent, to go on snoring peacefully, to be carefree in setting bureaucratic paychecks. And the Kosovo tourists will somehow find their bearings--they have an international gift.

History will proclaim the main and first-rank culprits for what happened in Kosovo to have been all those before whose eyes irredentism billowed and the tragedy of two populations and of the majority of the Albanian population in Kosovo evolved, all those esteemed comrades who knew and saw but buried their heads in the sand like ostriches, concealed the truth, and abused persons who raised their heads and spoke the truth.

You, too, have concealed the truth and cracked the mirror. Even today, you are attempting to conceal the truth and to forbid it to be spoken! The trouble is that you are not alone even today.

Fortunately, you will eventually be isolated. Time will isolate you and put you in your proper place.

I have no doubt that the brotherhood of Albanians, Serbs, and Montenegrins will overpower irredentism and its inciters and helpers outside Yugoslavia. Nor do I doubt that the main weight of the struggle will be borne by the Albanian population in Kosovo. By defending brotherhood with Serbs and Albanians, the Albanians of Kosovo are defending their honor and centuries-old freedom-loving tradition. Do not hinder them, Comrade Kronja, with such statements.

It cannot be excluded that you may go off, tomorrow, to some more important and more responsible position. Perhaps the presidency of the Tourist Federation would suit you best. But perhaps--perhaps it would not be a bad idea, not for your sake but for the sake of those 100,000 people whom you insulted, and for the sake of the millions of people in Yugoslavia whom you attempted to deceive, and for the sake of the decisions of the highest governmental and party leadership entities in Serbia and in Yugoslavia that you disavowed and rejected--I am saying, perhaps it would not be a bad idea for all of these reasons if you were to open a dictionary and look up the meaning of the terms "tourism" and "internationalism."

And then, take a look at the meaning of the word "resignation!"

With best regards.

CSO: 2800/397

END